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THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE

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In the Courtroom, in the Streets, in Politics

How Poor Are the Poor?

Industrial Policy Invades the Pentagon

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VOLUME 7, NUMBER 1

JANUARY/FEBRUARY 1996

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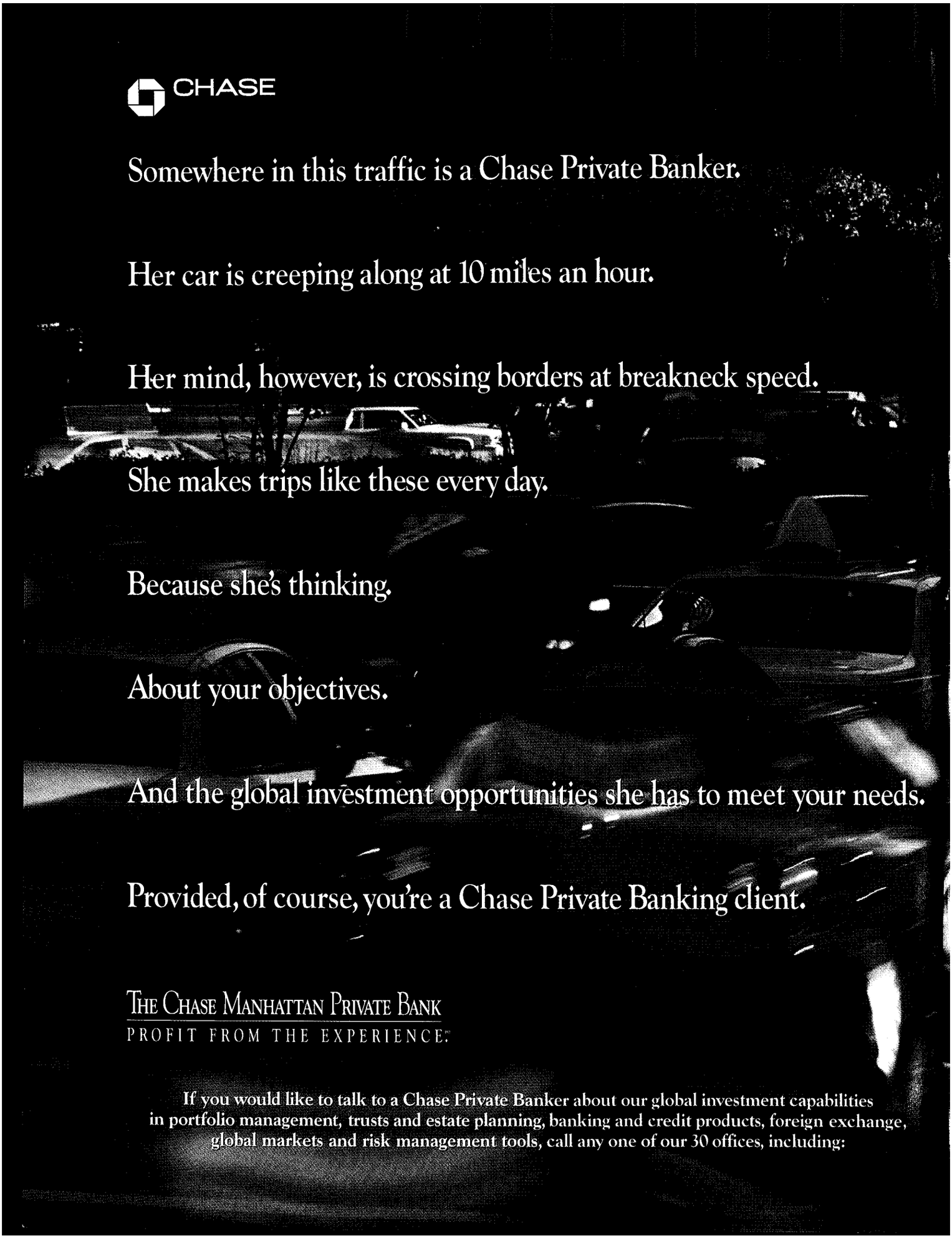

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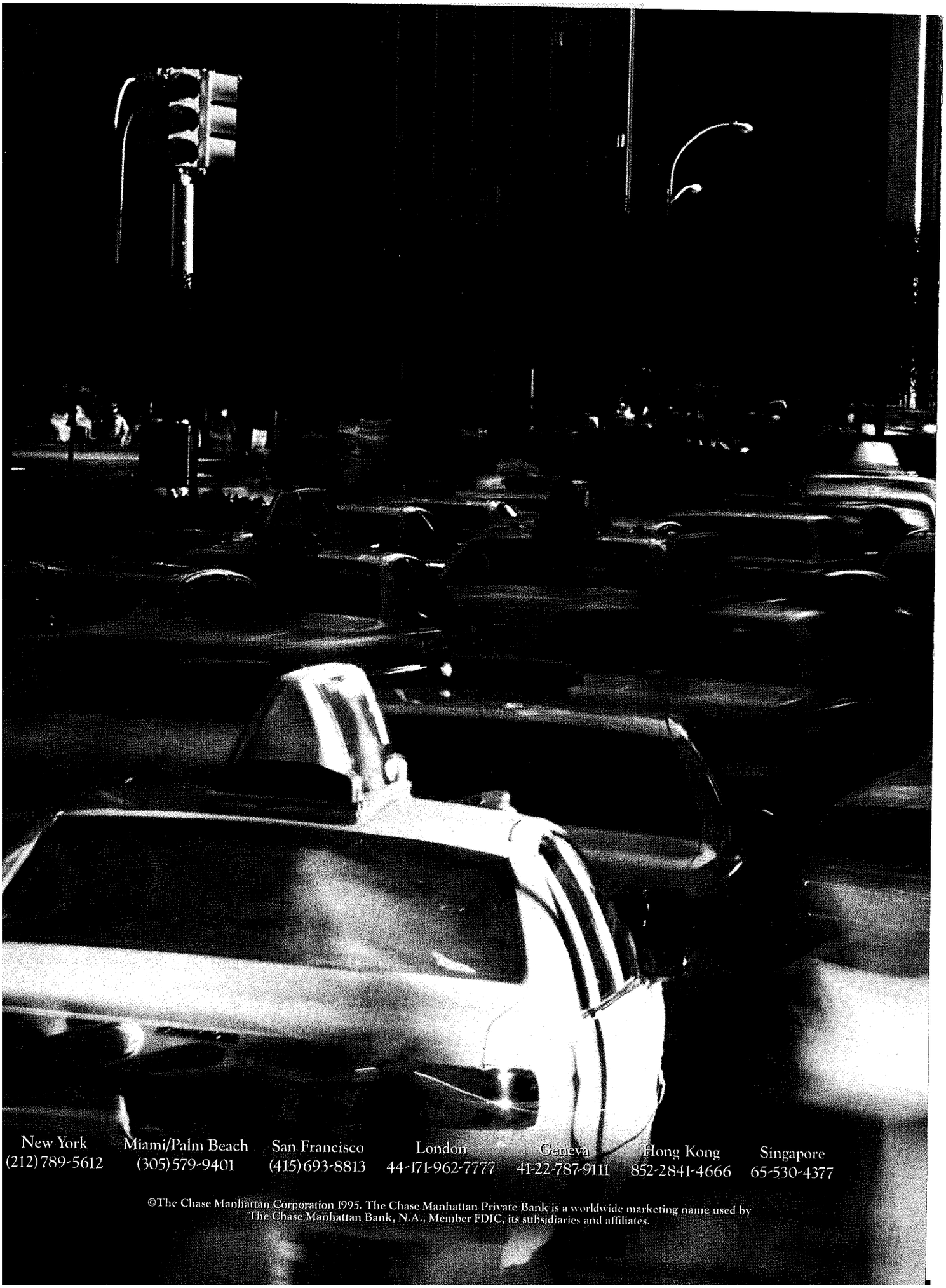

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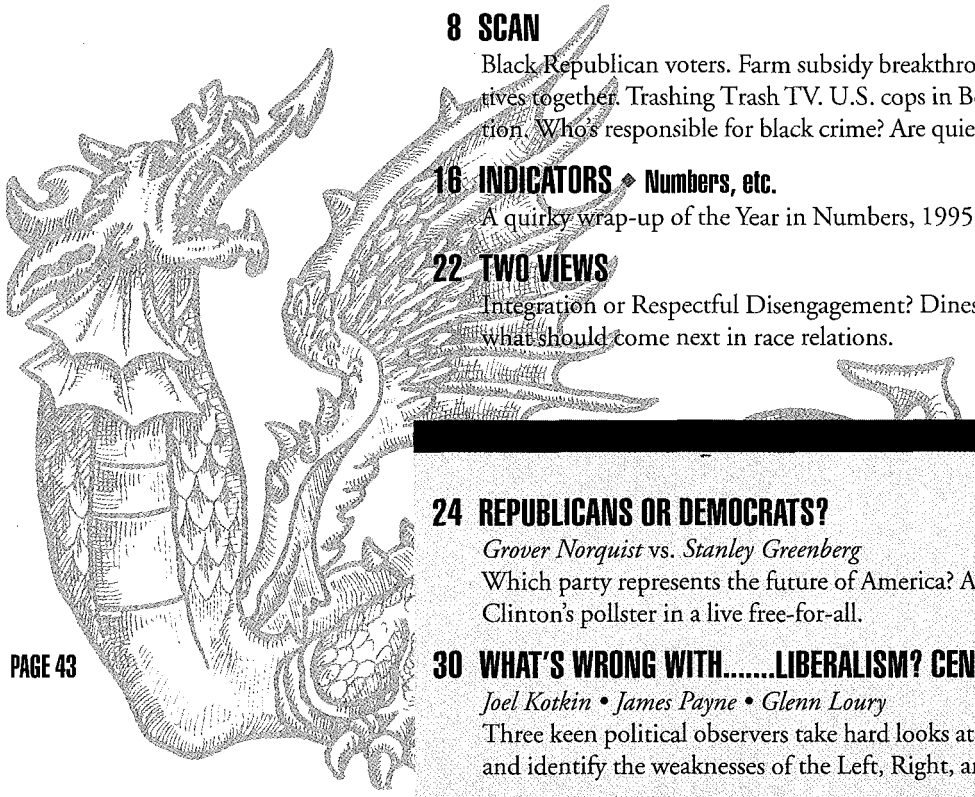

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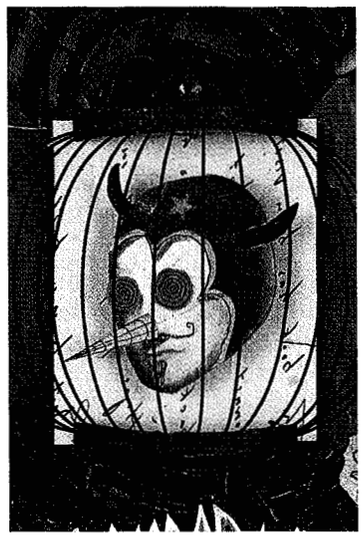

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THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE

A NATIONAL MAGAZINE OF POLITICS, BUSINESS, AND CULTURE

JANUARY/FEBRUARY 1996 VOL. 7, NO. 1

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THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE
(ISSN 1047-3572), published bimonthly by the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research. Copyright © 1996, the American Enterprise Institute. All rights reserved.

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1150 17th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.
(202) 862–5886.

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430 South Geneva Street, Ithaca, NY 14850.
(607) 272–0909.

MANUSCRIPTS
The editors welcome mailed inquiries briefly summarizing article ideas. We will not be responsible for returning any unsolicited manuscripts. Send to Senior Editor at Washington, D.C. address.

SUBSCRIPTIONS
$28 one year. Overseas: add $30.
Subscription correspondence and address changes: The American Enterprise, P.O. Box 2013, Marion, OH 43305–2013. (800) 596–2319.

Bird's Eye

KARL ZINSMEISTER

Painful But Productive: Toward Honesty on Race

"We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies.
Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection."
—Lincoln's First Inaugural Address

Politics and race are the focal points of this issue of *The American Enterprise.* Along with our coverage of the subterranean forces that will influence election-day appetites in 1996 (what we've called "Deep Politics"), this issue contains a substantial amount of unconventional thinking on the question of black-white relations. In TWO VIEWS, Dinesh D'Souza and Rabbi Mayer Schiller grapple directly with some of the racial separatist ideas brought to the fore by the Million Man March. On page 54, Michael Weiss and I have co-written an article on the increasing racialization of inner-city jury verdicts. Elsewhere, we have stories on blacks in conservative politics, and on the Sentencing Project report on blacks and crime.

"IS IT PARANOIA FOR A BLACK TO WONDER, WHETHER THIS POSTURE TOWARD URBAN PROBLEMS WOULD BE EMBRACED WITH SUCH CONFIDENCE AMONG CONSERVATIVES IF THOSE INNER-CITY HELL HOLES WERE POPULATED BY WHITES?"

—Glenn Loury

Right at the intersection of these topics you'll find a powerful essay where Glenn Loury examines problems in conservative thinking about black America (see page 30). It was last summer when I first started coaxing this article out of Glenn—a friend, and a thinker I much admire—and it was worth the wait. The article is a clear, constructive critique that will advance the debate on race relations. Yet I think there are some serious blindspots in Glenn's argument that deserve to be addressed bluntly. I'm going to argue vigorously here against the parts that seem to me to be incorrect, because I believe that's how puzzles get solved. But let me say at the outset that I agree with the majority of what Glenn has written, and hope his comments will be widely read and absorbed.

Glenn's complaint against conservative writers like John DiIulio, Charles Murray, Dinesh D'Souza, and David Frum is that they have reduced race, poverty, and crime questions to a matter of "us" decent folk versus "them" barbarians, thus encouraging the nation to turn its back to inner-city blacks. His accusation has a definite edge. "Is it paranoia for a black to wonder," he asks, "whether this posture toward urban problems would be embraced with such confidence among conservatives if those inner-city hell holes were populated by whites?"

My first answer is, yes, it is paranoia. There is nothing race-specific about the solutions to our inner-city nightmare proposed by conservatives (and increasingly embraced by all Americans) like stern penalties against criminal gun use and drug trafficking, two-year time limits on welfare, rules ending additional payments for additional illegitimate babies conceived while on welfare, and "three felonies and you're out" laws. These

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are no-nonsense responses to terrifying social decay. They are no more motivated by disregard for blacks than the measures which caught up John Gotti and other mafia dons over the last decade were motivated by anti-Italian feeling. And on the positive side, contemporary conservatives have expended a lot of blood, sweat, and tears for measures like school choice, which offers relatively little to families whose kids are already in solid suburban schools, but a great deal to inner-city children.

My second response to Glenn's question (and this gets to the heart of our disagreement) would be to note that it is not some accidental chance or irrelevancy, as he implies, that blacks are at the center of those "inner-city hell holes." Certainly every kind of breakdown seen in today's black ghettos—from illegitimacy to drug use to delinquency—is also seen in white America. But the point of the conservative concern over black underclass life is that the pathologies run so much deeper there. What conservatives have been saying from Pat Moynihan right up to Dinesh D'Souza is that we desperately need to find out what it is in contemporary black culture that makes for these exceptional breakdowns—and then work like crazy to counteract those factors. For this concern, they have consistently been attacked as racists.

Glenn has joined those who would have us ignore any anomalies of black culture. The problem is sin, not skin, he says. But I'm afraid that answer will not satisfy until he can explain why so many black Americans are now "sinning" so often and so seriously.

I think one of the things Glenn and I do agree on is this: as the group that always gets pneumonia when America catches cold, blacks have been grievously injured by the last generation's "progressive" experiment. Anybody distressed at the decay in America's ghettos over the past 30 years should search out those who prescribed free love, "doing your own thing," disposable marriage, and the idea that drugs are victimless. Find those who told economically unsuccessful people they have a "right" to a guaranteed income. Find those who taught that all law enforcement is oppression, and that fathers aren't important. Those are the folks who allowed a deadly amorality to root in the heart of our great cities, where it now devours souls by the thousands.

That said, the troubling reality in our ghettos these days is that the hellish torments are being inflicted *by their own residents.* If only some identifiable outside force were creating the siege conditions, nearly any American would gladly swing a battleaxe against such an enemy. But the harder, more tragic reality is that inner-city Americans are being brutalized by their own neighbors, their own reproductive partners, their own teenagers, their own mothers even. And, ultimately, by themselves. Who is forcing the crack pipe between those many lips?

You show an American of any politics a button that can be pushed to end this awful self-destruction and he or she will gladly press it. But no button, no imposed outside solution, has worked.

YOU SHOW AN AMERICAN OF ANY POLITICS A BUTTON THAT CAN BE PUSHED TO END THE AWFUL SELF-DESTRUCTION IN GHETTO LIFE, AND HE OR SHE WILL GLADLY PRESS IT. BUT NO BUTTON, NO IMPOSED OUTSIDE SOLUTION, HAS WORKED.

Therefore the primary response to this terrifying cruelty, by decent citizens of all races, has been the only one available: defensive flight. Not "indifference." Not "hubris." Not "dour insensitivity" (as Glenn charges). But horrified, high-speed, flight—individuals fleeing from the geographic killing zones. Thinkers fleeing from the governmental, sexual, political, and moral principles that contributed to (or at least refused to declare war on) this depraved, disloyal, responsibility-free underclass culture.

Glenn contradicts himself when he first excoriates conservatives for not launching emergency measures to save underclass blacks ("Where is their passion? Where is their moral outrage?"), and then later tries to put the brakes on the dramatic measures conservatives *are* launching in this area, with the warning that classical conservatives like Edmund Burke would disapprove of a "conservative revolution." Actually, a revolution, a hurricane, a whole new beginning is exactly what is needed in public policy on poverty and race questions, and the House Republicans, state leaders, mayors, and law enforcement officials who are beginning to offer dramatic changes in this area (on the recommendation of the new generation of conservative poverty theorists) are quite justified in their actions. We *are* in an emergency. Conservatives and other Americans *do* feel moral outrage, and they *are* working passionately—on the first fresh responses to these problems in more than three decades. So why are Glenn's experimental feet so cold where his rhetoric is so hot?

For a basically hard-headed person, Glenn's discussion these days is heavy on rights talk ("what about the needs of urban poor people for shelter, health care, and food?" he asks), and light on responsibility talk. His application of the Scriptures seems a bit selective. He correctly invokes Jesus' main teachings of tolerance, forgiveness, and forbearance. He brilliantly wields religious wisdoms against economic determinists who would have us believe that moral actions are derived primarily from financial interests, and social engineers who think that human goodness is achieved by finetuning their programs. In these areas he does invaluable service against the delusions of both Right and Left. But he leaves out what one black preacher I know refers to as the "firm handshake Jesus"—who demanded personal responsibility, and taught, with His acolytes, that those who do not work shall not eat, that those who injure others shall be punished, that they who neglect their duties to family, community, and God will not prosper.

Glenn is, again, marvelously eloquent and true when noting that God is no respecter of persons, that the ghetto poor are our brothers and sisters, that "the fault-line between civilization and barbarism runs down the middle of every human heart." But I don't accept his contention that in holding this view he is different from most of the other conservatives who have taken up underclass issues over the last decade. Indeed, the person who first

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coined that phrase about the fault-line in every human heart was Glenn's *bête noire* Dinesh D'Souza, in their face-to-face debate on the PBS program "Think Tank." (Glenn notes to me that Dinesh did not use it in his book, however.)

There was a time, in the 1970s and before, when political conservatives took very little interest in poverty, left studying the underclass to liberals, and prescribed only *laissez-faire* solutions to America's race problems. Today, there are still enough uncaring and even nasty people practicing conservatism to keep alive the stereotype of the cold, self-interested right-winger. But that chapter looks to me to be closing, especially amongst the conservative intelligentsia. I believe Glenn is mostly tilting at straw men when he accuses leading conservatives of not knowing or caring about black America, and of believing that most of our social problems are incurably determined by economics or biology. When I think of the conservative theorists who have most influenced the race and poverty debates over the last decade I think of people like George Gilder (who spent months and years interviewing ghetto families for his books), Michael Novak (a theologian), Charles Murray (a Peace Corps volunteer and former do-good poverty analyst), Marvin Olasky (a devoted advocate and practitioner of voluntarism, and father to an adopted child), Lawrence Mead (proponent of work and community authority), Myron Magnet (who emphasizes the transmission of moral rot from upperclass decadents to underclass decadents), James Q. Wilson (who analyzes man primarily as a moral actor), John DiIulio (a blue collar scholar with extensive first-hand experience with criminals), and others. These are not economic determinists bubbling about how enterprise zones and capital gains cuts will eliminate the underclass. They are not people who throw up their hands and declare ghetto social problems incurable. This is not the silk top hat set. These are not at all men of "dour insensitivity…with no first-hand knowledge of or meaningful involvement with the ghetto poor," as Glenn accuses.

One place I cannot follow Glenn is in his call for a strict, thoroughgoing blindness to color. This is fruitless idealism. Yes, color-blindness is *essential* to public policy, where racial hierarchies combined with the coercive power of the state can have horribly divisive and even deadly consequences. Loury is right that this country desperately needs less race consciousness in its public life. Yet there is much more to the world than public policies, and to pretend that our race problems can be understood entirely as "problems of sin, not of skin" is, to me, to stick one's head in the sand.

Of course there is no correlation between skin color and human goodness. But lots of more superficial things (including many of our most nagging social problems) *are* deeply connected to skin color, and we all know it. That's why Malcolm X High School has an in-school day care and a weapons problem, while Scarsdale High offers counseling for anorexia, bulimia, and teen suicide. Sin and sadness are universal, but there are different problems, of differing severity, needing different solutions, among different folks. Race is hardly the only influence on social problems today. But it is one of the most important ones.

WHEN I HEAR BLACK LAW CLERKS SAY THEY DON'T LIKE THE TERM "AFRICAN AMERICAN" BECAUSE THEY "DON'T WANT TO BE ASSOCIATED WITH THE 'AMERICAN' PART OF THAT LABEL," I REALIZE WE ARE NOT JUST ONE BIG FAMILY WHERE SKIN IS IRRELEVANT.

Glenn complains of the "narrowly academic and highly ideological posture of conservative intellectuals," so let me speak personally here. In my private and internal life I am, and must always remain, color-blind. Christian brotherhood and American citizenship demand that. But hard experience has taught me that colorblindness is an ineffective and even dangerous ruling principle. This is not something that I, or the vast majority of other Americans who share my view, learned from public policy conferences or books published by right-leaning theorists. It springs starkly from practical life.

My wife and I met in Africa, where we were both working in a group of Americans, mostly black, who were teaching and building a school. I was thoroughly colorblind when I entered that situation. Then my black American colleagues made it clear—sometimes in harsh terms—that they considered that a big problem. Most contemporary blacks, I learned, do not at all accept the idea that race is unimportant. I left a lot of my color-blindness in that group.

Today, I hear of black law clerks who say they don't like the term "African American" because they "don't want to be associated with the 'American' part of that label," and I realize we are not just one big family where skin is irrelevant. I think about Mona Charen's post-O.J. observation that "what those pictures of African Americans exulting in the acquittal of an obvious murderer drives home is that large numbers of American blacks are exhilarated by anything that can be interpreted as a blow to whites," and I realize skin does matter. I read of truck drivers nearly brained to death with bricks simply because they were the wrong color, and I realize that, alas, skin matters.

During the near-decade that my family and I lived across the street from an all-black inner-city public housing project, I learned on many occasions that race is relevant. A few times, I or my family almost paid a serious price for imagining otherwise. Once, my wife was pushing my infant son down the sidewalk in a stroller when two teenagers smashed a stolen car into a light pole just yards from where she stood. I was close by in our front yard, and after making sure my wife was all right I ran over to some older black mothers standing in front of a nearby liquor store who had watched the boys walk away. I asked them, begged them, to give me a description of the people who had nearly run over my wife. They coldly turned away. At that point we had lived on their block for about three years.

Twice in a period of a few years I was cold-cocked (punched in the head without warning) to the accompaniment of racial insults on the streets near my house—once while painting a fence,

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country takes the form of....used cat litter. Reportedly, **two million tons** of the stuff get landfilled each year. Could this spark an alley fight between the recycling crowd and the human companions of the nation's 63 million feline-Americans?

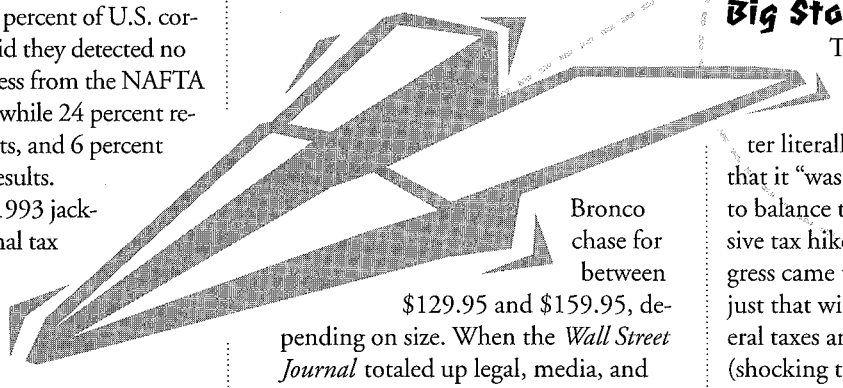
Speaking of nature, let's talk about human nature. Even on that hard-to-quantify subject there are numbers that fascinate and edify. For instance, if you're feeling pessimistic about the ability of old dogs to learn new tricks you should consider that seat-belt use in the U.S. has risen from 11 percent in 1982 to 70 percent in 1995. Or maybe you're a raging optimist concerning the human learning curve. Better bear in mind, then, that the number of people killed trying to climb New Hampshire's Mt. Washington reached 116 this year, despite years of warnings to tenderfoot hikers. Round-shouldered old Mt. Washington (6,288 feet) has actually killed more people than any other peak in the country, including mighty McKinley (20,320 feet) and Mt. Rainier (14,410 feet). In fact, twice as many people have died on New Hampshire's hump as on K2, the second highest crag on the planet.

Gross Margins

The examples above hardly scratch the surface of quirky statistical intelligence produced in 1995. We also learned that:

- As of November, 70 percent of U.S. corporate controllers said they detected no effect on their business from the NAFTA and GATT treaties, while 24 percent reported positive results, and 6 percent described negative results.
- President Clinton's 1993 jack-up in the top marginal tax rate—from 31 to 39.6 percent—didn't raise an extra $16.5 billion in its first year as he predicted, but only $5.1 billion. The reason, study authors Martin Feldstein and Daniel Feenberg suggest, is that upper-income earners worked less, took more deductions, or otherwise changed their behavior in response to the higher rates.
- The 14 new discount airlines established in the U.S. over the past three years have forced competitive changes in the industry that now save consumers an average of about **$100** per round trip, according to a government study.
- At the other end of the competition spectrum, the Microsoft/Intel share of the personal computer market passed 80 percent in 1994, and, not surprisingly, **gross profit margins exceeded an incredible 80 percent at Microsoft**, and 50 percent at Intel.
- Speaking of gross margins, O.J. Simpson was by year end offering autographed mail-order photos of his Bronco chase for between $129.95 and $159.95, depending on size. When the *Wall Street Journal* totaled up legal, media, and police expenses, plus things like memorabilia sales, it determined that the O.J. trial had added a total of about $200 million to the Gross Domestic Product.
- On the political front, the number of Democratic office-holders switching to the Republican party in 1994 reached 142 as of November. Partly as a result, 21 state legislative chambers that were Democrat-controlled in 1992 have swung to the Republicans. Even on the homefront, Democrats suffered defections: In 1994, 40 percent of union members voted for Republicans, and **27 African Americans** ran for Congress on the GOP ticket.
- Science, of course, is a fountain of numbers, some of them useful, some amusing. Why Dr. Alan Hirsch of the Smell and Taste Treatment Foundation was studying which odors cause blood to rush into a man's penis, I cannot say, but I can report his fascinating findings. Number one on the anti-impotence hit parade was a combination of pumpkin pie and lavender scents (40 percent increase in blood flow). Other standouts: doughnuts and black licorice (32 percent bump), and doughnuts and pumpkin pie (20 percent). Someday an irresponsible baker is going to start peddling pumpkin doughnuts with licorice sprinkles and we're going to have a big decency problem in this country. Let's hope Calvin Klein didn't see this study.
- One of my favorite numerical discoveries of the year was that only 40 percent of the swimsuits sold to American women ever get wet. Does that interesting little datum reveal things about psychology, physiology, fashion, and retailing, or what?

> One of my favorite numerical discoveries of the year was that only 40% of the swimsuits sold to American women ever get wet.



Big Story. Big Fib.

The most significant numbers story of all in 1995 was clearly the balanced budget saga. After literally decades of Washington talk that it "wasn't realistic" or even "possible" to balance the federal budget without massive tax hikes, the new Republican Congress came up with an honest plan to do just that within seven years. It allows federal taxes and federal spending to meet (shocking thought) in the year 2002—at the historic norm of 19 percent of Gross Domestic Product. Currently, federal spending eats up **22%** of GDP, while taxes amount to 19 percent.

As I write, President Clinton threatens to torpedo this achievement, on the grounds that it would bring "radical, extreme cuts" in government spending. Which, just as a numbers question, is breathtakingly dishon-

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The family tax cuts offered by the Republicans total $245 billion over the next seven years. In a $60 trillion seven-year economy, that amounts to a 0.4 percent giveback.

est. Here in a nutshell is the distinctly unrevolutionary reality of the Republican balanced-budget plan:

one It will allow federal spending to total **$267 billion more** in 2002 than in 1996. The spending reductions the plan requires over seven years (an accumulated $952 billion) are, as *Investor's Business Daily* puts it, "a 'cut' in the Washington sense only, meaning a reduction in the planned spending increase."

two Under the GOP plan, the federal government will spend a total of $12 trillion over the next seven years.

three That is only 8.6 percent less than Congress would have spent without the Republican cuts. If you take out interest savings and look solely at program reductions, the drop is only 7 percent less than what the Democrats planned to shell out when Tom Foley and George Mitchell ruled the roost.

four Of the 300 programs that the initial House budget proposed to eliminate, only about 50 actually got the ax.

five The family tax cuts offered by the Republicans total $245 billion over the next seven years. In a $60 trillion seven-year economy, that amounts to a 0.4 percent giveback.

President Clinton's budget cant has been especially irresponsible on the subject of Medicare, where the White House has shrieked of "savage GOP cuts." These are the facts:

six The Republican plan allows a 39.6 percent increase in spending per Medicare beneficiary between 1996 and 2002. ("Only in the Orwellian world of Washington is a **40 percent spending increase** over seven years considered a cut," comments columnist Joseph Perkins.)

seven That increase in spending per patient is almost twice the projected rate of inflation.

eight Under Congress's plan, Medicare will grow 6.5 percent a year from now to 2002. Without changes, Medicare will grow at 10.2 percent a year.

nine Absent dramatic action of some sort, Medicare is headed for the tank. The program's trustees forecast its trust funds will become insolvent within seven years if Congress doesn't act.

These reasons are exactly why an important U.S. politician recently said, "Today, Medicaid and Medicare are going up at **three** times the rate of inflation. We propose to let it go up at **two** times the rate of inflation. That is not a Medicare or Medicaid cut."

The author of that statement? Bill Clinton—in 1993, when he was pushing his own health care reform. The only reason the president has shifted to Medi-Scare tactics today is to bash Republicans while their necks are sticking out. Whether the American public will follow Clinton's lead in flaying Congress for a rare display of guts on controlling runaway entitlement spending is literally the trillion dollar question of 1996, and far beyond.

Coming in 1996: Marx for Dummies

It now appears likely that much of the 1996 presidential race will be fought on traditional class warfare turf. Republicans will proclaim economic growth and the importance of controlling government sprawl, and Clinton will claim the GOP is damning the poor and favoring "the rich."

The first thing national statistics teach on this question is that the whole idea the U.S. even *has* separate classes is dubious. Being "rich" or "poor" varies mainly according to the stage of life one is in. Most people cycle through different zones of the income spectrum at different times, depending on whether they're raising children, in college, a couple with two paychecks, retirees living on investments, whatever.

Americans change jobs a lot. They move across country. They divorce at grievously high rates. In a year where one of these things happens, the household income may tumble. But over the long haul, prosperous mobility is the norm. Only a small portion of the U.S. population is stuck in a rut of long-term poverty.

Treasury Department data, for instance, show that **86%** of those Americans whose income was in the bottom fifth of the country in 1980 had moved to a higher fifth by 1988. Sixteen percent had moved all the way from the bottom to the top (this was actually commoner than staying put at the bottom). Liberal economist Isabel Sawhill found in a different study that almost 40 percent of Americans who were in the lowest income fifth in 1984 were out of it just one year later. Other data from the Bureau of the Census (covering the period 1990-92) show that **only 22%** of the people who are poor at any given moment will still be poor one year later.

Just as the existence of "the poor" as a large separate group in this country is an illusion, so too is it a mistake to think of "the rich" as in some way distinct. Yet this is exactly what Robert Reich, Bill Clinton, and others do when they argue that reducing capital gains taxes to internationally competitive levels would be a sop to some super-wealthy elite. Truth is, more than 14 million Americans claimed capital gains on their tax returns in just the single year 1993 (the latest period for which data are available). And of these capital gains payers, **three-quarters** earned less than $75,000 in annual income.

The number of mutual fund accounts in the U.S. has exploded from 12 million in 1980 to more than 130 million today. With wealth accumulation, investing, and the earning of capital gains now routine

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middle-class pursuits, attempts by politicians to divide "possessors of capital" from "sellers of labor" are increasingly laughable. With each passing decade, the language and logic of class warfare grow more musty and irrelevant.

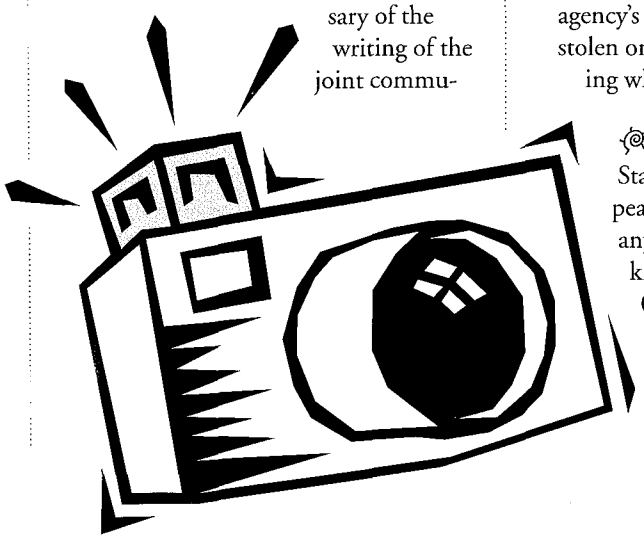
1996, however, promises to be a last hurrah for the Class Warriors. For months, Labor Secretary Reich has been peddling the idea that the middle class has been slipping backward since the 1970s or 1980s (by which he justifies greater government involvement in the economy). But this claim runs head on into contrary evidence. The latest study on the subject, by Urban Institute and Congressional Budget Office researchers, finds that real pre-tax income per baby boomer was **55% higher** in 1989 than it was for their **parents** 30 years earlier.

As 1995 progressed, Reich worked a new spin into his working man's lament—the idea that American income is being, as he put it, "shifted from paychecks to dividends and capital gains." Even if this were true, it's not clear that the large majority of Americans with pension investments and stock market nest-eggs would be unconsolable. But in any case, the basic contention is not accurate. "Throughout the 1990s," economist Ralph Reiland points out, "employee compensation has run at about 74 percent of total income—higher than during the 1960s."

Oh well. As my Irish friends say, nothing like the **facts** to ruin a good story.

The UN's Kodak Moment

But enough about those New Democrats. Let's talk now about some Old Tyrants. For 1995 was, of course, the 50th anniversary of the writing of the joint communique that founded the multilateral initiative which bloomed into the exploratory mission that became the United Nations (or something like that). To mark the U.N.'s golden birthday commemoration, newspapers ran a lot more articles about U.N. work than squeamish American readers would normally be advised to expose themselves to. And by forcing ourselves to pay attention, we learned some remarkable things. Like:



- 75 percent of the World Health Organization's $1 billion annual budget goes to salaries, and much of the rest to conferences. (Doesn't leave a lot for free vaccines.)
- **$10 million** in UNICEF funds just disappeared earlier this year from the agency's Kenya office—reportedly stolen or squandered. (We're wondering what's the difference.)
- The U.N. gets the United States to pay **31.7%** of all U.N. peacekeeping costs, far more than any other country. (South Korea kicks in 0.13 percent, Kuwait 0.05 percent, and Saudi Arabia 0.193 percent.) You may ask: How much can it cost to buy some blue helmets and lots of K-rations? Well, with peacekeepers now shining their boots and buttons in more than a score of countries around the globe, the total expense to the World Community approaches $4 billion a year.

75% of the World Health Organization's $1 billion annual budget goes to salaries, and much of the rest to conferences. (Doesn't leave a lot for free vaccines.)

The U.N. found a special way to commemorate its 50th anniversary at the October gala in New York: A class photo showing 185 different heads of state all saying "cheese" at the same time. A special eight-tier platform was custom-built in Manhattan "so that every leader can have the space befitting a dignitary," and more than **300** U.N. staffers devoted their full energies over a period of **a year and a half** to this one photo. A September 29 dress rehersal for the 20 minute snapshot took six hours. No word on how much the picture cost in total, but you can assume the U.S. paid about 31.7 percent.

Life off-budget

At just about the time of the U.N.'s photo climax, an interesting number was published in Washington proving that when it comes to burning up money on bureaucratic planning, the good old U.S. government can keep up with any international competition. I am referring to the release of the official price tag for Hillary Rodham Clinton's Health Care Task Force. You will recall that when the little group was first put together, the White House projected it would complete its work for less than $100,000. Then tales began to circulate of inch-thick lists of "consultants," and rolling, week-long planning sessions staged in auditoriums. When pressed about both the expense and the legality of Mrs. Clinton's secret meetings, the White House raised its cost estimates to $211,000.

Well, Hillary overspent—it's that simple. When all the bills arrived a year later, total expenditures on what amounted to a year-long floating crap game for policy wiseguys came to **$14 million**. That's a lot of legal pads and take-out Chinese. Of course, great ideas don't come cheap.

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Bird's Eye continued from page 6

once while riding a bike. In Southeast Washington, D.C. neighborhoods I was chased on my bicycle with cries of "get the white man" ringing around me. Another time, I was out with my family when I noticed a kid trying to break the exterior mirror off my pick-up truck that was parked on the street. I told him politely but firmly to stop it and within seconds my wife, two small children, and I were ringed by a group of teenagers shouting "whitey's acting up." Bottles and rocks started to fly, and we were in big trouble. Fortunately a passing van screeched to a halt, and a couple of black men leapt out and convinced the kids to disperse.

That was one of many times when some good black man or woman saved or helped us. My family owes other debts to black neighbors that we will never forget. But sometimes the good man is not there. No one was there to save Yankel Rosenbaum from racial rage (see page 54). No one saved Florida's English and German tourists when murderous thieves selected them by the color of their skin. No jury member rescued justice for Nicole Simpson and her family. Every year, more than a million-and-a-half whites are violently victimized by black offenders. Several million more annually suffer interracial property crimes. FBI figures indicate that blacks now commit hate crimes at a per capita rate four times that of whites—and we all know there are too many hate crimes carried out by whites. New York City statistics prepared for former mayor Ed Koch show that black offenders are five times likelier to kill whites than the reverse. Nationwide, according to Justice Department figures, the rate of black-on-white violent crime is now *fifty times* the incidence of white-on-black.

The result of all this predation is human pain and alienation on a mass scale, making the brotherliness that all decent Americans aspire to impossible. Glenn criticizes people who have pulled away from the traumas of black ghettos in what he perceives to be indifference. While seconding his view that it's a serious problem when middle-class Americans separate themselves from the problems of the underclass (a point I argued years ago when analyzing crime against children in congressional testimony and articles for *The Atlantic Monthly* and other publications), let me suggest that it is usually despair or simple fear, not racial disdain, that causes middle-class people to distance themselves from the underclass in this way.

The brutal reality is that whether in the selection of juries or the choice of neighborhoods to live (or get lost) in, colorblindness has become a real risk today. So long as these frightening conditions—described by Michael Meyers on page 57 as a "state of war"—continue to exist, pretending race is irrelevant will be a luxury many Americans simply cannot afford. Jesse Jackson has told us it is a luxury *he* cannot afford, admitting he fears black faces on nighttime sidewalks (the same hard reality tens of millions of other Americans observe). This isn't a matter of bigotry or animus, but of self-preservation. The penalty for the person who, ignoring race, turns down the wrong street today can literally be death. It is unfair and unrealistic to demand that people "ignore race" so long as race has direct connections to troubles and dangers of this magnitude. Quite apart from the daily horrors taking place among the underclass itself, this tragic modification of personal behavior among the rest of Americans provides its own urgent reason for inculcating a more healthy black inner-city culture.

THE CONTROVERSIAL BOOKS AND ARTICLES ON RACE, FOLLOWED BY COUNTERBLASTS, SHOULD BE WELCOMED. AT LEAST WE'VE GOTTEN BEYOND THE STAGE OF CONDESCENDING EUPHEMISM, PULLED PUNCHES, AND AVERTED EYES.

One of the main complaints of Glenn and others against current writing on the subject of race and poverty is that it is extremely, sometimes impolitely, blunt. While I've read and heard plenty of things in recent years that I consider foolhardy, I am on the whole quite grateful for this new bluntness on all sides, because I remember the previous generation of scholarship and public discussion on race. It was awful: sentimental, wishful, dishonest. On the rare occasions when a Pat Moynihan or George Gilder came along and spoke plainly about the ominous direction of current trends, he was accused of "blaming the victim," and read out of polite intellectual society. Unpleasant as it can be to face the harshness of today's prose *vérité* (Leon Dash's 1995 *Washington Post* articles on welfare, crime, drugs, and abuse in one multi-generational family were not for the squeamish), at least we've gotten beyond the stage of condescending euphemism, pulled punches, and averted eyes.

Conservatives and liberals alike now recognize the horror of our current racial dilemma. We admit there are two Americas—each afflicted with moral rot, but underclass America mournfully so. Solutions may be scarce, but the nation is beginning to show the courage it will need to extract itself from today's behavioral quicksand. And this has happened only because a few brave individuals were willing to climb the bell tower in full sight of snipers and ring the clarion.

There are hard steps ahead, but today's unblinking racial debate represents real progress, and I for one am profoundly encouraged. The controversial books and articles, followed by counterblasts, should be welcomed. At least we are interested, out of the closet, and talking among ourselves. We must continue on this painfully but productively honest path. If we do, I expect that 20 years from now we'll look back and see real racial progress.

I say all the above in humble awareness that the heaviest weight of racial reconciliation in this country has always been carried by black people. "It is the Negro who is being required to play the heroic role and to transcend the hatreds of both the segregationist and the liberal," observed Walker Percy back in 1957. As my colleague Scott Walter has written, while the struggle for black well-being can only be won on the battlefield of each black person's soul, we must always remember the tremendous burdens that human injustice has placed on those very spirits.

(In the next issue of TAE, *Glenn Loury will reply.)*

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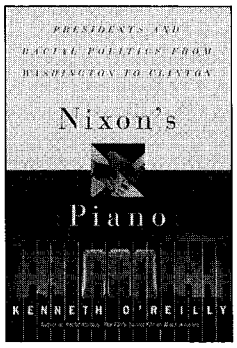

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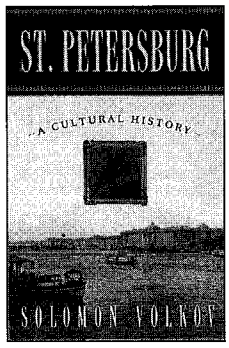

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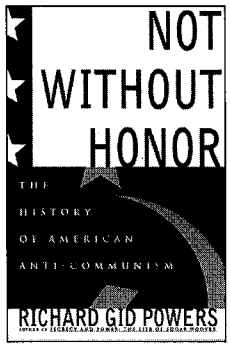

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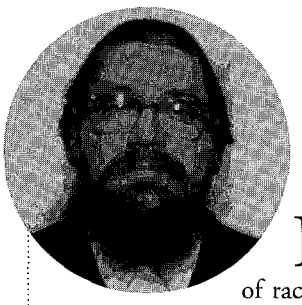
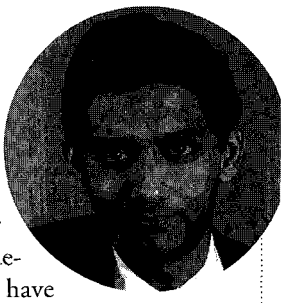
Two Views

HAS MANDATORY INTEGRATION DRIVEN BLACKS AND WHITE APART? RABBI MAYER SCHILLER AND DINESH D'SOUZA PONDER WHETHER AMERICA NEEDS...



Racial Integration or Racial Separation?



Schiller

D'Souza

Louis Farrakhan isn't the only American expressing skepticism toward the ideal of racial integration today. Black Republican and PBS television host Tony Brown condemns the contemporary drive for "racial assimilation," arguing "we can remain racially separated and maintain a healthy, productive nation." Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas has damned school integration schemes built on the premise that non-whites must sit next to whites to become educated.

Among blacks and whites both, integration is backed more by lip service than real conviction, as indicated by the fact that in all social settings where integration is not coerced, the races generally choose to separate. In churches, prisons, the military, professional athletic teams, and college campuses, the races mostly go their own way. Is this self-imposed segregation really as shocking and undesirable as commentators would have us believe?

Black and white Americans inhabit different universes of perception. This was apparent long before the divergent reactions to the O.J. Simpson verdict. Opinion polls show that large numbers of blacks believe guns and drugs are deliberately placed in their communities by whites in order to destroy them. One-third of blacks say whites invented AIDS to exterminate non-whites.

Whether or not existing racial differences are genetic, they are deeply ingrained. Forty years of massive financial aid and special legal and social assistance have done little to change this reality; instead the races seem to be diverging. Yet accepted political wisdom simplistically repeats, "We must be more understanding and learn to live together." Perhaps it is time Americans come to grips with the increasing numbers of citizens of all races who say, "We understand just fine, and we no longer wish to live together."

Some will say this is an ugly overreaction to national economic and social woes. Don't despair, they argue, ethnic tensions will diminish as soon as all groups have the same high standard of living, or when "white racism" disappears, or when the problems associated with poverty are somehow eliminated. But even if all these desirable ends could be achieved, the question would remain whether people have the right or perhaps the obligation to survive primarily by reliance on one's self and one's kind.

As a Hasidic Jew, I sympathize with the deep natural yearning to pass on a distinctive way of life. America's dominant culture tolerates such sentiments when expressed by minorities but sees the same sentiments as evil whenever whites express them. Blacks and Hispanics have clearly expressed a desire to be under the auspices of

While I agree with Rabbi Schiller that many social policy measures designed to bring about racial integration have only driven the races apart and fostered condescension and resentment, I do not agree that all efforts to bring races together should be abandoned. Just because heavy-handed and coercive policies such as busing and racial preferences have failed to reach the goal of integration, we need not conclude that the goal itself is undesirable.

After all, despite much rhetoric boosting "multiculturalism" and deriding the "melting pot," the melting pot has in fact worked reasonably well for other ethnic groups. Immigrant groups have preserved symbolic aspects of the Old World, such as St. Patrick's Day, while at the same time embracing a new American identity.

Consider intermarriage, the strongest social indicator of integration and assimilation. Intermarriage rates between white ethnic groups have now reached epidemic proportions. Jews marry Christians at rates that have raised concerns about the continuation of a distinctive Jewish community. Levels of intermarriage between whites and Hispanics, and between whites and Asians, have also escalated to the point where hundreds of thousands of mixed-race children are born in the United States every year.

For American blacks, however, the situation is different. Although the rate of black-white intermarriage has more than doubled in the past two decades, it remains vastly lower than that for other minority groups. On nearly all measures of social integration—where people live, how they vote, whom they befriend, and whom they marry—the melting pot is a reality for every group except American blacks.

Some civil rights activists will triumphantly announce that this amounts to a confession that racism is still the primary obstacle facing African Americans. Not so. To understand the root of the problem, we must return to the debate between two great black leaders, Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois, in the early part of this century. Du Bois maintained that blacks face one serious problem: white racism. Washington said no, blacks face two problems: white racism and black cultural deficiencies. He wholeheartedly agreed that these cultural weaknesses were the product of slavery and oppression. Yet he also insisted that black crime rates were too high and black savings rates too low. Cultural deficiencies, Washington argued, would inhibit blacks from being competitive with other groups and would also strengthen white racism in the long term by giving it an empirical justification.

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Schiller continued

their own race in education, law enforcement, and government, to have their children speak their languages and learn of their heroes and culture, not those of whites. Are these basic human emotions simply wrong? Are they to be tolerated among non-whites but not among whites?

Historically, Americans ranging from Abraham Lincoln to Marcus Garvey held that mutually agreed-upon and respectful separation was best for Americans of all races. Could this again become our standard? Certainly any effort to gain breathing room between the races must eschew talk of racial superiority and affirm the moral principle that all ethnic groups have an equal right to self-determination. Non-whites may well prove more capable of elevating themselves if the psychological crutches of "white racism" and white alms are removed. In arguing for his own notion of racial separation, Tony Brown asserts that current arrangements foster only "more paternalism" and "black and white racism." Each racial group must earn its own equality and self-respect, he argues.

Aristotle similarly believed the cement that binds a country together is commonality and friendship among the citizens. He also taught that friendship flourishes only where there is a rough equality of condition. In America this may require an abandonment of the forced integration attempted over recent decades.

Critics will insist that even if it is not immoral, separation is impractical. Admittedly, peacefully disengaging without acrimony will be tricky. Each group must say to others, "Yes, of course, you want your own places to socialize, and neighborhood schools where your children can study and love their own culture. And so do we." Here the mainstream conservative advocacy of decentralized government as well as the New Left's notions of "acting locally" can be applied. But allowing self-selected communities greater self-determination will require trimming back the federal and state leviathans. A first step would be to eliminate laws that encourage discrimination in favor of certain groups in the public sector, as well as those that prohibit preferences on the private level. In the long term, we may see neighborhoods, states, and regions explore the means of secession, much as Quebec is now doing. Havens of mandatory integration could continue to exist (let us see how many white liberals actually choose to live and school their children inside them).

All of this is preposterous, you say. Perhaps so from a 1995 perspective. But the notion that America would become today's multiracial boiling pot would have seemed bizarre 60 years ago.

Respectful disengagement does not entail indifference to the well-being of other groups, but we can fulfill our moral and religious duties to others without incorporating the beneficiaries into our own self-defining culture.

Nor does a turning away from forced integration presume that race is the source of all of today's cultural breakdowns. We have larger social problems. But new opportunities to address them might open up if only Americans could gain a little breathing space from a forced multiracial marriage that has clearly soured.

Rabbi Mayer Schiller teaches Talmud at Yeshiva University High School for Boys in New York City.

D'Souza continued

Du Bois's view prevailed, and for more than a generation the civil rights establishment, including the NAACP which Du Bois helped found, has promoted a strategy calculated to fight racism and secure legal rights for blacks. That strategy has produced important gains, yet now it has run its course, and its main flaw has become increasingly apparent.

Blacks enjoy the same legal rights as other groups, yet on virtually every measure of academic achievement and economic performance, blacks are uncompetitive with whites, Hispanics, and Asians. What is needed is a two-step strategy to reverse this ominous trend: first, a public policy that is strictly race blind—what I call "separation of race and state." Let's abandon any public policy that sets citizens against each other on the basis of their skin color. The second step is a cultural strategy, concentrated in the private sector, that aims to raise the cultural standards of all Americans, but especially those of the black underclass. In the black community, for practical reasons, such a strategy must be led by inner-city preachers, teachers, and parents, but other Americans can help by supporting these civilizing forces that work to uphold what urban anthropologist Elijah Anderson terms the African American "culture of decency."

America's fatal public policy mistake is to believe that forced integration is the *means* of success for a group. History shows that voluntary integration is usually the *consequence* of a group's success. When Catholics and Jews attained a certain measure of economic and social status, other Americans became less reluctant to vote for a Catholic for president, and more willing for their sons and daughters to marry into Jewish and Catholic families.

Ethnocentrism can be a business asset—to this degree, Rabbi Schiller is correct. Indeed, while Jews, Italians, Koreans and other ethnic groups have advanced by helping their own, American blacks—whose homogenous voting habits show that they have a strong sense of political solidarity—demonstrate no comparable sense of economic solidarity. If blacks emulate Koreans and set up rotating credit associations and other means to generate start-up capital, they can develop the strong entrepreneurial base that is essential to a group's success in America.

When a group is consistently failing, there is a temptation to believe that intrinsic inferiority is the cause. But if blacks become increasingly competitive with other groups, they will discredit racism by removing its empirical foundation. Social acceptance for blacks as a group is inextricably tied to reducing scandalously high black rates of crime and illegitimacy, and raising standards of academic achievement and economic self-reliance.

Although Rabbi Schiller and I agree on certain matters of public policy, such as the failure of coerced integration, we have quite different visions for America. At bottom, he is a racial separatist, and I am an integrationist. My arguments, unlike his, presume that a multiracial society is both possible and desirable. Over time, it is African Americans who will prove one of us right.

Dinesh D'Souza, John M. Olin Fellow at AEI, is the author of The End of Racism.

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REPUBLICANS & DEMOCRATS

THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE RECENTLY INVITED REPUBLICAN ACTIVIST GROVER NORQUIST AND CLINTON POLLSTER STANLEY GREENBERG TO DEBATE THE RELATIVE TRAJECTORIES OF THE NATION'S TWO MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES. BEFORE A LIVE CROWD IN WASHINGTON, D.C., AND A NATIONWIDE C-SPAN TELEVISION AUDIENCE, THE TWO MEN MADE OPENING AND RESPONDING STATEMENTS, AND THEN ENGAGED EACH OTHER DIRECTLY. BOTH MEN HAVE NEW BOOKS OUT ON THIS SUBJECT. MR. NORQUIST'S IS CALLED 'ROCK THE HOUSE'. MR. GREENBERG'S IS ENTITLED 'MIDDLE CLASS DREAMS'.

NORQUIST There is a new governing majority in the United States. It is run by the Republican Party and is a coalition of people who wish to be left alone by the government. It is a cohesive coalition; it is a growing coalition. The previous governing coalition, the Democratic coalition, is a coalition of people who want the state to use its power to take things, usually money, from other people, and redistribute it. It is a shrinking coalition, it will continue to shrink in the next 10 to 20 years, and it has a lot of divisions. I see a future where the Republican Party maintains itself as the majority party for many years and the Democratic Party continues to slide until it radically restructures itself.

I refer to the new Republican majority as the "leave-us-alone" coalition. In the U.S., we don't have a right-to-life party, we don't have a property-owners party. We have two major parties containing coalitions of interest groups within them. The Republican coalition at present is made up of people like:

- **Homeowners and property owners.** There are now a thousand property-rights groups across the country. They are better organized today than the taxpayers movement was in 1978 after Proposition 13 passed. The taxpayers movement is large and sophisticated at the state level.
- **People who educate their kids at home.** They want the government out of their lives, and they don't want it to interfere with their ability to be parents. When the federal government threatened them with a law that might have opened the door to regulating home schooling, two million phone calls flooded Washington, D.C. In addition to home schoolers, people who send their kids to private schools simply want to give their children a serious education, perhaps in the faith of their choice, and they see the government as their enemy in this.
- **Gun owners.** There are three million-plus members of the National Rifle Association, and there are similar groups around the country. These are people who simply don't want the federal or state government to come in and take their guns away. These are not people who want something from the state. These are people who want to be left alone by the state.
- **The social conservatives or the religious right.** If you look at their agenda, it is best understood as a parents' rights movement. These are people who don't want the government throwing condoms at their kids, who don't want the government insulting their faith by putting crucifixes in urine and making us pay for it, or having presidential appointees insult the Pope or people of faith. They are not asking to impose their religion on anyone else. The left thinks this is the fault line that will divide the leave-us-alone coalition. They are wrong. They tried it in 1994 and it was a big help to us.

The main impetus that first inspired religious conservatives to organize wasn't the ban on prayer in public schools, or even the

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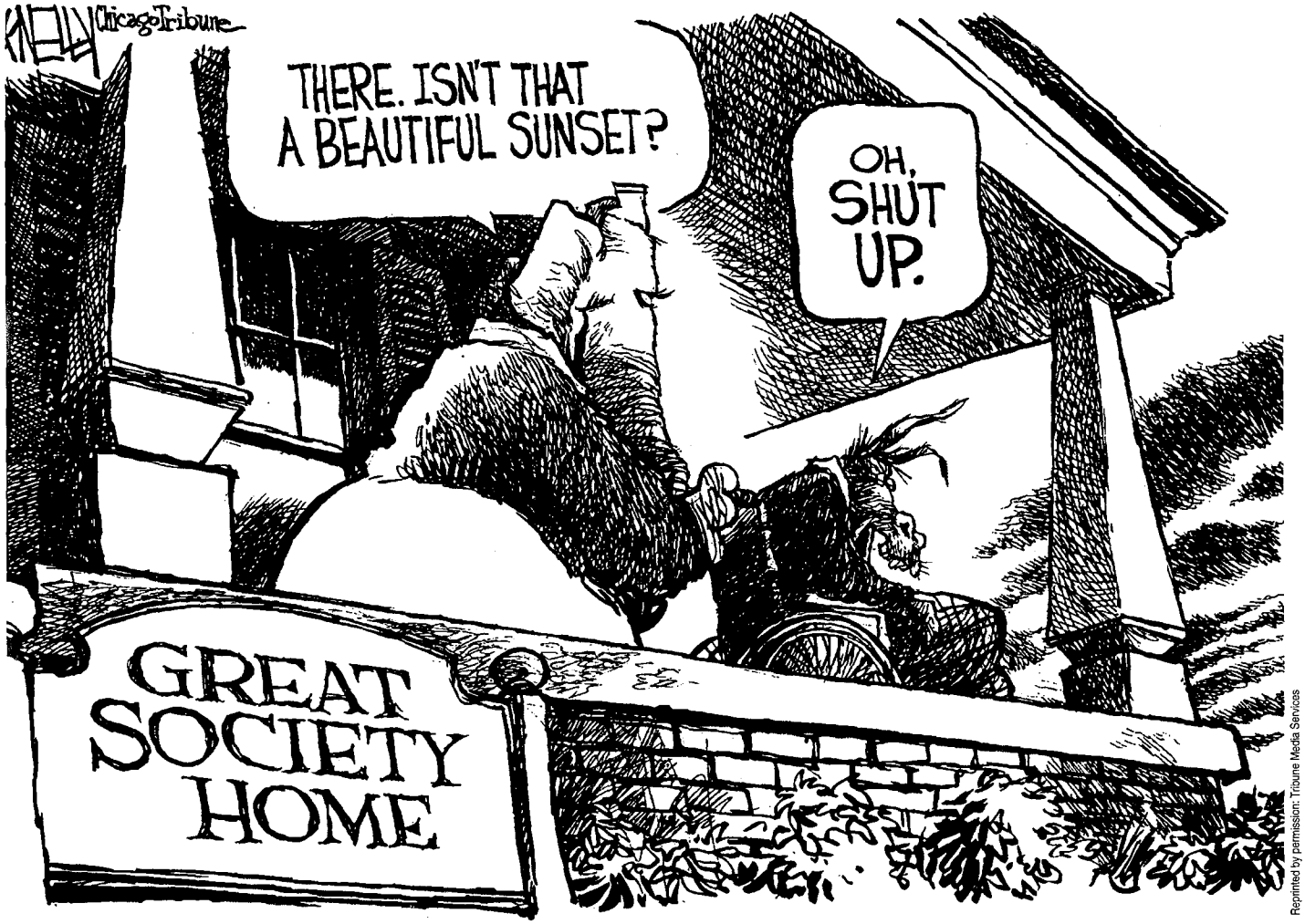

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Roe v. Wade decision that legalized abortion. It was in 1977-78, when the Carter administration seemed to be going after private religious schools and Christian broadcasting stations. It was in defense of these that they first organized, and they remain organized in a defensive mode to keep the government out of their lives. Every time the federal government annoys people, it strengthens our coalition.

The Democratic coalition at present is a takings coalition: a coalition of people who want government to take things from other people and give it to them. Government employees; government contractors; government grant recipients; trial lawyers; union leaders who wish to keep laws that allow them to collect compulsory union dues; these all want government to steer money to them.

In addition, you have the radical utopians, who are not as large in number but very influential in terms of the Democratic agenda. These are the radical homosexual groups, environmental groups, and feminist groups. Each of these wants the state to impose their view of the proper order of things on those of us who lead our lives in ways that annoy them, whether by wearing leather belts or getting married and having children.

The Republican coalition does not ask a great deal. The hunters don't demand that schools pass out little books praising hunting as a valid alternative lifestyle. Gun-owning groups don't insist that, as a young man, Leonardo da Vinci was a well-known gun owner. They just want to be left alone.

Members of the Republican coalition can sit in a room and the property owners agree not to raise anybody's taxes, and the taxpayers groups agree not to regulate the heck out of the rest of everybody else's lives, and the home schoolers agree not to pick on anybody else's kids, and everybody agrees not to bother the home schoolers or private schoolers. Coalitions are very difficult to keep together. I don't think the Republicans will win for the next 20 years without a tremendous amount of hard work. But the groundwork is being laid.

The left does not have the same kind of cohesion because they have conflicting visions. Some of the feminists eat meat and some of the environmentalists are married, and you have a whole series of fights. Everybody who wants cash looks at everybody else who is getting cash not as an ally but as a source of more cash.

The Democratic coalition is shrinking. It has lost political power, financial power, and patronage. When Republicans were elected to the House of Representatives about 2,000 Democrats lost their jobs because of committee staff changes. The new governor in Kansas gets to appoint a thousand positions; New Mexico, 1,500; Tennessee as many as 5,000. A back-of-the-envelope extrapolation suggests that the Democrats lost 50,000 to 70,000 patronage positions after the 1994 elections. Those were Democratic precinct workers paid for with your tax dollars. So expect more shrinkage.

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GREENBERG Grover's new book is an unrelenting attack on the Democratic Party. I took it well. The best part for me was his calculation of the net number of Democrats that die each year. That inspired in me some caution about allowing Republicans to do what they wish on Medicare. The Democratic death rate would rise even further.

The title of this debate is "Who Owns the Future of America?" Grover is very clear. He is also very wrong. I believe any reasonable analysis of the 1994 election and the data on where the public has moved since that election would lead one to conclude that no party owns America. That is the meaning of 1994.

The current reality is spiraling political decline for both parties. It is volatile, particularly given the near-parity of the parties in voter enrollment and in Congress and the state legislatures. Combined with the income stagnation that most Americans are feeling, that leaves an immense opening for upheaval, which I believe was reflected in 1994 and will be reflected in future elections.

1994 was an election of decline for the Democratic Party, but it was not one in which the public rushed to the Republican Party. Feelings about the Democrats declined sharply during the first two years of the Clinton presidency, but there was barely any gain in positive feelings about the Republican Party. At the time of the election both parties stood at almost their lowest levels of public esteem in the history of polling. If you believe that something other than that disreputable parity characterizes the current period, then you have some difficulty explaining a whole series of things that have happened since the election.

Newt Gingrich is the symbol of the supposed conservative Republican majority. We have seen a steady rise in negative sentiments about him, now reaching 54 percent. Attitudes toward the Congress have worsened steadily. There has been a 17 to 24 point swing away from the Republicans in Congress and toward the President concerning being trusted with the country's problems. Since the Republicans took over, support has increased for an independent presidential candidacy. Three-quarters of the public say that the government never or almost never can be trusted to do the right thing—this has risen during the period of Republican governance to its highest level ever.

Support for the two parties has moved to about parity. Republicans did move ahead after the election, but then fell back. It is hard to look at what has happened since the election and say that the public ratified the Contract with America.

I do believe something big happened in 1994. I don't diminish the scale of the change that took place with the Democrats losing control of the Congress. I don't underestimate the rejection of Democratic governance. But I also don't take lightly the change that took place in 1992, when I believe the public turned away from Reaganism, and indeed the change that took place in 1990, when the public for the first time in two decades turned away from incumbents of both parties.

Projections of a new Republican majority are based on a number of misjudgments. The first concerns the triumph of Reaganism. Grover believes that Reaganism was triumphant, produced an economic miracle, and that George Bush's presidency was an anomaly which distracted the public from the successes of Reaganism. One of the failings of conservatism is not coming to terms with the public's rejection of Reaganism. The public began to move away from Reaganism as early as 1986. There were immense doubts about the direction that Reagan was taking the country, and an opportunity opened up for a Democratic candidate in 1988, had it not been Michael Dukakis. The public certainly thought they were rejecting the ideas of Reagan when they rejected George Bush in 1992. When the public looks back on the 1980s, they do not see the Reagan years as benign but as years in which inequality grew and greed was rewarded. The sense of middle-class grievance and squeeze is rooted in the 1980s, and conservatives need to come to terms with it.

The second misjudgment is that the 1994 election ratified the Contract with America, which was barely debated during the election. 1994 was instead a rejection of Democrats, of Bill Clinton's failure to achieve in his first two years.

The third misjudgment is a belief that conservatism can be reduced to anti-government feeling. Republicans and conservatives have recently been very successful with the argument that government screws things up. But Reagan made a broader case for entrepreneurship that could produce prosperity for the country as a whole. Current conservatives don't make that argument. They only make the negative argument that government screws things up. And the most recent Times Mirror survey shows the public is closer to Bill Clinton than Newt Gingrich on the question of governmental activism.

The fourth misjudgment is that one can simply paper over the divisions within the Republican coalition. Moreover, with the special-interest coalition that produced a high voter turnout triumph in 1994, Republicans and conservatives became associated with special-interest politics and lost the opportunity to speak for the country as a whole.

NORQUIST Stan's book argues that in 1992 the Republicans fell apart, and in 1994 the Democrats fell apart, and now we're even. I think that is a bit like somebody standing in the ruins of Berlin in 1945 and deciding that both sides are tired of the war.

The Democratic Party took very serious hits in 1994. It does not faze me to say that in 1990 and 1992 people were unhappy with George Bush when he raised taxes, having promised not to. George Bush assaulted the leave-us-alone coalition and all its parts. He went after gun owners, he went after property owners, he went after businesses, he went after taxpayers. And then he was surprised they didn't show up to vote for him in 1992, at a time when Republicans picked up seats in the House of Representatives.

So I am extremely pleased with the trajectory of the Republicans' growth and the Democrats' collapse. And this will continue. The Democratic Party, as the party of government, depends on government spending. I calculate that 75 percent *of the American Left* is funded with your tax dollars.

This makes the Democrats extremely vulnerable to budget cuts. If a billion dollars represents 20,000 people earning $50,000 a year on government jobs or grants or subsidies, then cutting a billion dollars drops 20,000 potential Democratic precinct workers off the public teat. The Republican budget in the year 2002 spends $200 billion less than the Democrats'. That is four million people transferred to the private sector, where their economic interests will be Republican.

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If you defund the government, you defund the Democratic Party. If you deregulate, you disempower the Democratic Party. That's why I'm projecting a future where the Democratic Party has less money, fewer activists, and fewer voters. The Legal Services Corporation spends $412 million every year. That is 30 times the size of the American Enterprise Institute. Should you cut it in half, that's the equivalent of taking 15 AEIs away from the left.

In addition, because the Democrats no longer have the House and Senate, they can no longer use juice spills to raise money. A "juice spill," a term from the California state legislature, is where politicians say to businessmen, "I have a bill here that crushes your industry." Everybody in that industry hands in $1,000, and the politician says, "O.K., we won't crush your industry this month, we'll crush some other industry." And you threaten industry after industry and everybody antes up, and the guy who refuses to ante up sufficiently gets hit. The Democratic Party under Tony Coelho perfected this, as described in Brooks Jackson's book *Honest Graft*. One last bit of evidence that the Republicans are a growing party and the Democrats a declining one: More than 117 Democratic officeholders have switched parties since Bill Clinton became president.

1994 WAS AN ELECTION OF DECLINE FOR THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, BUT IT WAS NOT ONE IN WHICH THE PUBLIC RUSHED TO THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

GREENBERG If one becomes mired in those very short-term numbers, one is going to lose track of the bigger forces at work. George Bush got 38 percent of the vote. If you look at today's three-way polls, you have Republican presidential candidates getting 30 percent of the vote. That ought to lead to caution about any Republican ascendancy. This is a public which is very skittish about both parties.

Also, there is a much more interesting Democratic Party out there that doesn't fit with the caricature of liberal interests that Grover presents. Bill Clinton, after all, ran on a broad middle-class agenda—a plan for job creation, welfare reform, support for tough crime measures including the death penalty, and support for reducing the deficit and cutting middle-class taxes. If you overlook this part of the party you will misjudge the potential long-term strength of the Democrats.

When we see a Republican Party passing so-called regulatory reform, standing with representatives of business organizations, congratulating themselves on rolling back the environmental regulatory regime—some day that imagery will come back to haunt them. And that is also true about the gun interests and the Christian Coalition and other organizations that form this coalition.

Let me go to Grover's point about Democratic patronage. I grew up in Democratic Party politics. My wife is a Democratic member of Congress. Her mother is a ward boss in the 8th Ward of New Haven, Connecticut. There was a day when patronage yielded party workers who produced lots of votes, but it was a long time ago.

I would argue that what really hurt the Democrats was becoming a party driven by national organizations and interests lobbying Congress, instead of a grass-roots coalition. I believe the Democratic Party will be liberated by having to go out and organize at the grass-roots level. The breakup of the traditional Democratic lobbies in Washington may in fact energize the party.

Each speaker was next permitted to ask his opponent two questions.

GREENBERG Much of what brought the Republican coalition together was the nationalization of issues like prayer by the Democratic Party, the federal government, and the courts. Now that these issues have been nationalized, how do you denationalize them so as to avoid fractures that could divide the Republican coalition?

NORQUIST The good news is that the Republican Party and the conservative coalition are as well-organized at the state level as they have become at the federal level. Sending issues out from Washington to the states moves them to a playing field where, as a conservative, I am much more comfortable they will be handled well. One of the advantages decentralizing conservatives have is that if a good piece of public policy emerges in one state, it serves as an example for all the other states.

GREENBERG The conservative parties in Great Britain and Canada moved to dismantle the welfare state, particularly in health care, and one was demolished at the polls, while the other is threatened with the same fate. Won't the Republican coalition, as it tries to dismantle Medicare, face a similar future?

NORQUIST The Republican Party is not dismantling Medicare. Medicare spending per capita actually goes from $4,800 a person now to $6,700 in the near future under the Republican plan. One thing the Republicans *are* doing is expanding the choices people have, for instance by offering medical savings accounts. I don't think America's elderly can be scared into thinking the program is going to be closed down, when in fact they will have options rather than the one-size-fits-all government approach we have now.

I'm delighted that the Canadian Tories collapsed, because they raised taxes. All governments that raise taxes should collapse. The British Conservative Party collapsed with the increase of the value-added tax. Neither of these parties practiced the conservatism of the U.S. Republican Party. Nor did George Bush when he said he was going to be another Ronald Reagan but then raised taxes, and regulated, and stepped away from the broad mass of the American people who view the government not as a friend but as an enemy in their effort to achieve the American dream.

NORQUIST Much of your book is geared toward middle-income voters. What do you say to a young person who enters the workforce and, if he is an average worker, will pay into Social Security all his life and get $20,000 a year back when he retires? Had that person put the same money into a private savings account, he could retire with half-million dollars in the bank. If his wife also worked at an average-paying job, they would retire with a million dollars in the bank.

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GREENBERG Younger people are now very independent politically and despairing of either party. To them, the future looks unstable and less hopeful. These voters are looking both for more opportunity in a market system and for more public resources, especially training and education opportunities. Republicans in Congress have moved to cut back on education spending, college loans, and job training. So I think the Democrats have important things to say to those younger voters. Democrats need to give up on many of the bureaucratic solutions they pushed in the past. But government empowerment is a central part of Bill Clinton's message.

NORQUIST In other words: "Pay no attention to the possibility of having a million dollars in the bank, we have more programs for you."

What do Democrats say to the poorest Americans? We have spent $5.4 trillion on welfare since World War II. How do you explain how that money was spent? How do you explain to a mother that her child cannot go to a private school with a voucher because the teachers' union won't let you?

GREENBERG It was Bill Clinton who created the welfare issue when he ran for President in 1992. Clinton introduced the concept of a two-year limit and work requirement. Bill Clinton formulated a welfare bill in his second year in office, and I hope he will be able to sign a work-centered welfare reform proposal. So we don't have a difference on this. The failure of the welfare system is understood by both parties.

Closing statements:

NORQUIST Here is how Republicans are going to win: by using the same four steps we used in destroying the Soviet Union. First, containment—no more new territories. When expansion ends, the internal contradictions inside the empire come to the fore. To the Democrats and the Washington establishment, Republican conservatives say, "No more new money." With that kind of containment, a tax-and-spend establishment cannot buy new constituent groups.

Second, take away the moral high ground. Once Soviet citizens stopped believing in their society's moral principles, they stopped supporting it. Today even Democrats no longer believe that the welfare state works. But because the people who run the welfare state—in high-paying jobs that destroy other people's lives in the name of saving them—are the base of the Democratic Party, Democrats refuse to say no to them, even as this destroys another generation of Americans.

Third, end the sense of inevitability that is so helpful to a political movement. Both the Soviet Union and its opponents used to believe that Soviet society was the future. That is not what people are thinking about Democrats today.

Lastly, deny the opponent external sources of income. We are going to defund the official Washington establishment and the Democratic Party by cutting off their use of taxpayer money and compulsory union dues to fund the Democratic political machine. When we face them again in two years, they will be smaller. When we face them again in four years, they will be smaller and less well-funded yet.

Democratic presidential candidates have been getting 40 to 43 percent of the vote going back to Hubert Humphrey. Bill Clinton tried to return the Democrats to majority status by making every American directly dependent on government expansion through his health care plan. At that point no American could afford to challenge the government or the government party (the Democrats). In European social democracies you do not have anti-government parties, because everybody is dependent on the state for their standard of living and livelihood, and they are afraid to try to unravel that Gordian knot.

Clinton's effort to establish national government-run health care was critical. Had he won, he would have turned America into a social democracy, and there would not be a conservative party in this country. When he lost, it was the Democrats' Gettysburg, their Stalingrad, their Waterloo. It is now a question of pushing back inch by inch over the next 10 to 20 years. It is going to be a lot of work.

GREENBERG What I believe ultimately wins out in this country is the common sense of the American people, which overwhelms rhetoric and tactics. We tried to make the case in 1994 that the Clinton administration had made important progress and that the Republicans should not be allowed to turn back the clock. This was a very hard case to make, given the spectacle of a Democratic Party fighting itself, a Congress in gridlock, a Congress coming apart on the crime bill, and a Congress that could not pass our health care initiative. I agree that passage of health care reform would have had major political significance.

There are some realities that the Republicans are going to run up against in 1996. One is the underlying problems of the economy, which has produced modest growth and income gains that to most Americans do not look real. Republicans will also come up against hard structural realities that limit the ability of governing parties everywhere to produce results that people can feel in positive ways in their lives, whether in the area of income gains or family dissolution or whatever. All of those problems continue to grow, and governments have increasing difficulty addressing them.

The Republicans are now in the midst of a debate about Medicare, and the public will see through the rhetoric. You can't convince the public you are going to reduce the deficit and say you are not cutting Medicare. They understand that somebody is going to pay more and there are going to be real cuts. Conservatives ought to be honest about it. This was the main single reason both in Canada and Britain for voting against the incumbent party.

These universal benefits are important to stabilizing a market economy as people are dealing with more and more change. When the Republicans reduce the quality of health services they send a message that they are indifferent to that change. Democrats are saying they are responsive. Those are the different visions that the parties have for the future. And we are in the midst of a competition and a period of great instability. I think the outcome is very uncertain.

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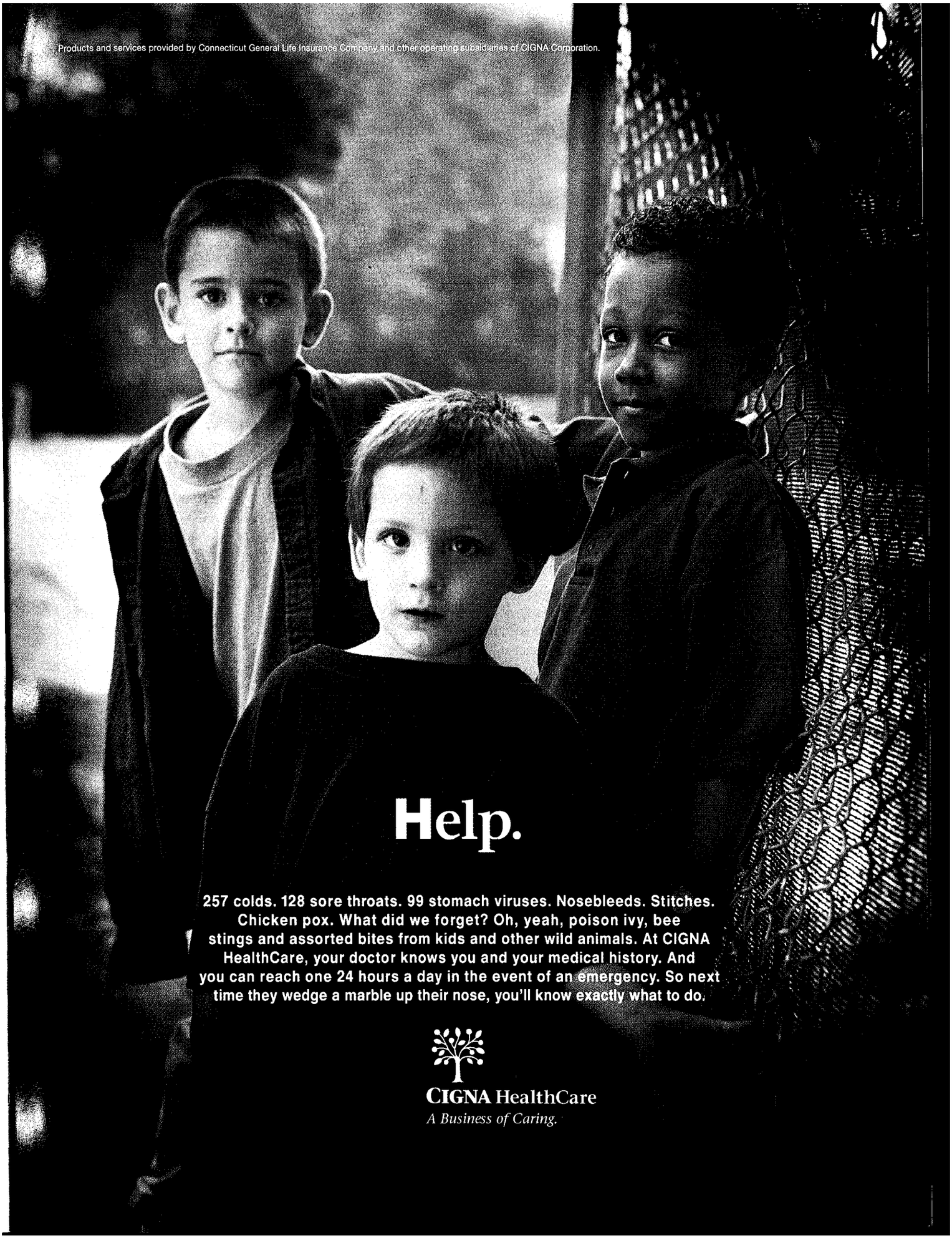

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THREE ICONOCLASTIC OBSERVERS—EACH MIXING SYMPATHY AND CENSURE FOR THE PART OF THE SPECTRUM THEY ARE WRITING ABOUT—ANALYZE THE WEAKNESSES IN 1996 OF EACH OF THE POLITICAL "-ISMS": LIBERALISM, CENTRISM, AND CONSERVATISM.

What's Wrong

LEFT

BY JOEL KOTKIN

Liberalism's current decline can be traced to the loss of three ingredients that have been critical to its previous ascendencies: a rising new constituency, a coherent ideology, and a powerful moral sense. Without these, liberalism has become little more than a collection of weakening interest groups that battle against modernity to protect their own parochial concerns.

At the local and national levels, the Democratic party consists primarily of what California state senator Tom Hayden calls "core tenants"—government contractors, trial lawyers, teachers, public employee unions, and so forth. These groups determine party policy, and then try to dress it up in some ersatz populist clothing. Dominated by those dependent on government, liberal Democrats have devolved into little more than the party of bureaucracy. Though today's liberals occasionally favor deregulation or breaks for business, they haven't been weaned of their fundamental desire to grow the payrolls and overall budget of government.

Allied with the public employees are advocacy groups seeking protection for their specific interests (like beneficiaries of affirmative action set asides), and groups who directly benefit from legislation, regulation, and litigation (like the trial lawyers). With close personal and ideological links to the media, this Democrats Inc. coalition can be highly effective. It is certainly capable of slowing and even reversing conservative activism, as Newt Gingrich is discovering.

But derailing someone else's agenda is about all liberals can accomplish today. They are not able to create any real alternatives. Indeed, by linking themselves with the special interests outlined above, those who call themselves progressives have virtually guaranteed their alienation from the dynamic rising constituencies that could help bring them out of the cold.

For a stark portrait of this liberal impasse, see the largest and most important election to take place in the country since 1992: the 1994 California governor's race. Californians have known for years that Pete Wilson is a remarkably flawed politician, with little personal appeal and few convictions. Yet Wilson, down in the polls by more than 20 points in the spring of 1994, eventually managed to bury his mediagenic Democratic opponent, Kathleen Brown, in a landslide.

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CENTER

BY JAMES PAYNE

The modern megastate has stumbled into dramatic failures on numerous fronts: welfare, education, drug control, financial regulation, racial policy, and on and on. The right declares "I told you so" in response, while the left insists, "It isn't so." Neither of these rejoinders, however, are majority positions. Today's dominant perspective on government failure is a remarkable blend of criticism and endorsement.

For most voters, this takes the form of denouncing the state's taxes and regulations while clamoring for its subsidies and protections. In the political class, it makes for leaders who play both sides of the ideological street, deploring big government even while they are making it bigger. What should we call these ambivalent citizens and ambidextrous politicians? Why "Ambies," of course, in recognition of their odd embrace of the aspirations of both Left and Right. This big, confusing, often confused, middle group dominates contemporary American politics, giving rise to the clashing rhetoric and contradictory policies that are its most striking characteristic.

A number of pundits and a few candidates, ranging from Bill Bradley to Colin Powell to Ross Perot, have stepped forward to give voice to this constituency, often presenting themselves as the "sensible" alternative. Their theme is that modern big government has failed us, even infuriated us, with its wasteful and counterproductive behavior...and that

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with the...

RIGHT

BY GLENN LOURY

Looking back on how I, a black American, came to call myself a conservative, three factors stand out. The first attraction of conservatism for me was that it was not liberalism. By the end of the 1970s I had become disgusted with the condescension which white liberals brought to questions of race. Wearing their guilt on their sleeves, they were all too ready to "understand" the shortcomings and inadequacies of blacks, and blind to the desperate need of these "victims" to take responsibility for their own lives. Liberals thus reinforced what I saw as the debilitating tendency among many blacks to avoid facing squarely the real challenges of the post-civil rights era.

There was hypocrisy in this liberal stance. Though proclaiming the equality of blacks and whites, it was built on a double standard. Whites were expected to change themselves and stop being racists. But blacks got no critical exhortation at all. The presumption was that blacks were without choices, their misery and mediocrity was inevitable, their racial hatreds were derivative from the failings of whites. In effect, liberals were saying that while whites were powerful moral agents, blacks were pitiable subjects shaped by forces outside themselves. This smacked of racism, and I hated it. Conservatives, by contrast, seemed refreshingly unencumbered with such patronizing attitudes.

The second attraction of conservatism for me was that, on the policy issues with which I was most concerned, it made intellectual sense. As a professional economist, I have always been sensitive to the serious incentive problems which plague liberal social policy. High taxes, heavy-handed regulation, bureaucratic service provision, and expansive social benefits reduce economic growth and foster dependence. Some social programs would always be necessary, of course, but liberals seemed too little concerned about the costs of their programs. Also, in the late 1970s, I watched workers in the auto and steel industries price themselves right out of burgeoning international markets while liberals cheered them on. And public employee unions often seemed to be feathering their own nests without concern for the public interest, with the broad support of the Democratic Party. As a result, many of the supply-side economic policies which emerged during the early Reagan years attracted my enthusiasm.

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we must have more of it. Does this love/hate critique constitute a coherent intellectual position? Let's have a look.

One Ambie article of faith is that the suffocating inefficiency of modern bureaucratic government can be overcome. In the Ambie political bible *Reinventing Government,* which quickly became the handbook of the Clinton administration, authors David Osborne and Ted Gaebler make just this case. "Our governments are in deep trouble today," they note, and afflicted by "staggering" waste. But government's many failures up to this point constitute no reason for hesitation. "We believe deeply in government," they write. "We do not look at government as a necessary evil."

Of course a government bogged down in staggering waste will be hard for anyone to believe deeply in, so Osborne and Gaebler propose a remedy: All that is needed is sincere, energetic officials who "melt the fat." The book lists upbeat examples of government administrators who've reportedly done just that—doing away with regulations, saving money, getting the job done better and faster. The accounts seem suspiciously one-sided, presenting only the administrators' claims of breakthroughs; but even if one assumes that these particular officials actually succeeded as professed, there is a larger problem that the authors miss.

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JOEL KOTKIN

The key to Brown's loss lay in the contradictions of contemporary liberalism. Because she failed to resist the demands of the liberal "core tenants," Brown was unable to develop either a coherent ideology or a sense of moral purpose in her campaign. As a result, liberalism's golden opportunity to take over the world's eighth largest economy and the "big enchilada" of American politics dissipated into a humiliating defeat.

At first, Kathleen Brown seemed ready to run as a California progressive, eager to reform, streamline, and modernize government. With her lawyerly suits, pleasant personality, and aristocratic bearing, Brown projected cautious moderation to the middle-of-the-road suburban voters who make up the decisive constituency in most Californian (as well as national) elections. This "new constituency" is made up largely of workers in the emerging information-age industries, already highly developed in California and the northeast, but also evolving quickly in Texas, Utah, and a few other states. Its members are generally younger people who work in communications, business services, computers, entertainment, international trade, health care, and other growing fields.

These voters are far more typical of the Californian electorate than many might believe. Among California voters in 1994, 80 percent were white, roughly two out of every five made over $60,000 a year, 80 percent had some college education. Persons age 30 to 49 accounted for 45 percent of the ballots cast.

Few of these voters rely on government for their livelihood. Outside of the African-American community, less than one in six American professionals work for government. And few share the traditional union point of view. Among the young, the numbers are starkest of all: less than six percent of workers ages 18 to 24 are union members, compared to nearly twice that percentage ten years ago.

Initially, it appeared that Brown's Democratic campaign would appeal to voters such as these. In addition to the usual Hollywood backers, she sought out allies in the high-tech centers of Silicon Valley and Southern California. She spoke

JAMES PAYNE

There are, after all, thousands of governmental units in the United States—counties, school districts, federal agencies, and so forth—and reformers have been "tinkering under the hood" trying to improve them for over a century. (The United States Civil Service Commission, for example, was first set up in 1883.) At any one time, it is bound to be true that in a few units, perhaps even hundreds, an energetic administrator will have introduced certain above-average efficiencies. But whooping up a handful of showcase reforms avoids the main question: what has gone wrong in the other 200,000 or so cases? What is it about governmental units that makes rationalizing them a labor of Sisyphus?

Gaebler is proud that in Visalia, where he served as city manager, fiscal controls were loosened so that a subordinate official could write a check to buy a $400,000 swimming pool in one day, without council approval, thus beating out competitors for this bargain. But he never asks why such controls grew up in the first place.

Let's review the political science. The analysis begins with the fact that government is a very special institution that gets its money not by voluntary exchange, and not by appealing to generosity, but through taxation: the forcible extraction of wealth. If this process is not to degenerate into a system of robbery or exploitation, as existed in the bad old days of tyrants and warlords, the people giving up the money must have the right to supervise its expenditure; that is, there should be no taxation without representation.

Red tape and the associated delays and inefficiencies connected with government are the result of trying to implement this doctrine, of trying to give citizens control of their government's activities. Here's how red tape grows: A free-spending administrator buys a swimming pool in haste that the city council doesn't want, or perhaps one that leaks. Or he writes a $400,000 check to one of his buddies, or to himself. Out of such betrayals of the public trust come restrictions on government purchasing, procedures to keep these scandals from happening again.

To imply, as Osborne and Gaebler do, that mere crisper administration can sweep

GLENN LOURY

Finally, the cultural assumptions of social conservatism seemed to me an appealing alternative to liberal secularism. In no small part, my move to the political right has been a move away from people on the left who seemed unremittingly hostile to any evocation of spiritual commitment in the public square. With the family disintegrating before our very eyes, liberals could only heap ridicule on "traditional values" advocates who expressed alarm. In the face of over one million abortions per year, liberals could find no place in their political lexicon for considerations of the morality of such a course. Tolerance of individuals choosing "alternative lifestyles" is one thing. But suspension of any public judgment about what constitutes a virtuous way of life amounts to moral relativism, and a political philosophy mired in moral relativism was unacceptable to me.

Concern for racial dignity, confidence in the efficacy of the market mechanism, and anxiety about cultural decay gave me good and sufficient reasons to embrace conservatism. Some years later, however, I

> LIBERALISM BEGAN TO SEPARATE FROM ITS TRADITIONAL MORAL BEARINGS DURING THE NEW DEAL. UNDER THE NEW DEALERS, THE LANGUAGE OF RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS, OF RIGHT AND WRONG, BECAME GRADUALLY SUPPLANTED BY THE LOGIC OF SCIENTISM AND SOCIAL WELFARE.
>
> —*Joel Kotkin*

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not so much of protecting the traditional Democratic economic interests of unions, government workers, and affirmative action contractors as of stimulating California's burgeoning new economy.

> TOO MANY CONSERVATIVES ARE BLIND TO THE NEED TO CONSTRUCTIVELY ENGAGE THE PROBLEM OF RACIAL DIVISION. IT IS PROFOUNDLY MISTAKEN TO THINK THAT THE CONSERVATIVE REVOLUTION CAN BECOME INSTITUTIONALIZED WITHOUT RACIAL RECONCILIATION.
>
> —*Glenn Loury*

Pete Wilson, like George Bush, was an inviting target for the New Democrat strategy. As governor, Wilson had presided over the state's gloomy economic nose-dive in the early 1990s. His pessimism about California, which he once characterized as a "bad product," alienated many of the entrepreneurs who were already laying the groundwork for the state's recovery. Even more disturbing to the state's business leaders, Wilson had passed a huge tax increase early in his administration, while failing to provide critical regulatory reforms to stimulate business growth.

At the same time, thanks to Wilson's ineffectual jousting with then-Assembly Speaker Willie Brown, the state budget raced upwards. By 1993, salaries for California government workers were 32 percent higher than those in the private sector. During a period when half a million private sector jobs disappeared under Wilson, the state payroll actually grew. Here was a clas-

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away all these restrictions and make life happy ever after is naive. Every day's newspaper brings some fresh example of misspent tax money and outraged calls for "tighter controls." Take a look at the new batch of banking red tape caused by the S&L fiasco. Wasteful, deadening regulations are an unavoidable feature of government budgeting in any democracy. They will grow back as fast as anyone can prune them away, because we insist that the money taken from us be handled responsibly.

Osborne and Gaebler aren't the only ones aiming to clip red tape. Another writer who has recently pursued the same theme to great acclaim is Philip K. Howard, whose book *The Death of Common Sense* appeared in 1994. Howard boils with anger at the modern regulatory state. He pungently reviews dozens of follies: the OSHA regulations which require a warning label on table salt; the fire regulations that prohibit children's artwork from being displayed on schoolroom walls; the New York City elevator requirement that prevented Mother Teresa from opening a homeless shelter. He shows how government-imposed regulations have worsened the very problems they try to address. The welfare system, he claims, "perfectly combines the evils of inhumanity and ineffectiveness." Overall, says Howard, our government "crushes our goals and deadens our spirits."

Yet Howard combines this strident anti-government message with a wholesale embrace of modern statism. Everything government tries to do is necessary; anyone who thinks otherwise, he says in a scornful aside, is "dreaming of an agrarian republic." This declaration of fealty to the welfare state saved Howard from being dismissed as a no-account conservative ranting against government, and turned him instead into an Ambie prince, lionized by the media and invited by President Clinton to a photo-op.

Howard's commitment to big government is especially puzzling because he makes many standard conservative arguments against state regulation. He warns, for example, that one reason why regulation keeps growing is because regulators can always think of one more possible wrong to

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have new doubts about the conservative ascendancy. The most fundamental of these doubts concern the manner in which the Right has come to discuss the issue of race.

It is certainly the case that liberal methods on racial questions—such as strong affirmative action leading to racial double standards, or an excessive fear of "blaming the victim" that precludes acknowledgement of social pathology—are flawed. But liberals sought to heal the rift in our body politic engendered by the institution of chattel slavery, and their goal of securing racial justice in America was, and is, a noble one. I cannot say with confidence that conservatism as a movement is much concerned to pursue that goal.

This is not the old canard that conservatives are inherently racist because believers in states' rights opposed the civil rights revolution. Rather, my concern is that too many conservatives are blind to the need to constructively engage the problem of racial division. It is profoundly mistaken and wildly ahistorical to think that the conservative revolution can become institutionalized without making progress toward the attainment of racial reconciliation. The "race problem" is unfinished business facing whichever party holds power in America. As such, the success of any governing coalition will ultimately depend, in substantial part, on how well it deals with this dilemma that cannot be wished away.

It is now fashionable on the Right to attribute the catastrophe unfolding in the urban ghettos to some combination of mistaken liberal policies and the deficiencies of inner-city residents themselves. David Frum, in his political obituary for Jack Kemp published one year ago in the *Wall Street Journal,* captured this view well:

> [Kemp's persistent advocacy on behalf of public housing residents] was more than obstinacy. Mr. Kemp believed, believed passionately, that the urban black poor were people pretty much like other Americans. If they seemed sunk in dependency and self-destructive behavior, the blame ought not to attach to some "culture of poverty" or to the bell curve—but to the perverse incentives of the welfare state. Yet Mr.

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sic issue Brown could have used to separate Wilson from a large bloc of moderate "new constituency" voters—the governor's failure to streamline government and keep down taxes. That very strategy of "reinventing government" plus a "middle-class tax cut" had helped Clinton whip Bush in California two years earlier.

Yet once Brown had won the nomination, the "core tenants" began to impose conditions on her in exchange for campaign funding. As the service employees' and teachers' unions began to ante up, they also began to gain operational control over much of the campaign and party apparatus. When Stephen J. Smith, government relations manager for the California State Employees Association, was appointed director of the California Democratic Party's 1994 "coordinated campaign," any thought of attacking Wilson for allowing the state government to bloat came to a sudden end. Instead the erstwhile New Democrat Brown began to run as the candidate of union angst. California, already entering a dramatic recovery, was depicted as "the worst economy in the nation," and "Grapes of Wrath" imagery, including blurry black-and-white photographs recalling 1930s destitution, filled Brown's ads. As former Brown strategist Bill Bradley later admitted, it was an image that "doesn't look like the California I live in."

Even when Brown talked about the "middle class," she no longer spoke to up-

A BEDROCK TRUTH ABOUT GOVERNMENT HELPING PROGRAMS: EVERY GOOD THAT GOVERNMENT TRIES TO DO IMPLIES HARM TO SOMEONE ELSE.

—James Payne

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right. A 1950 fire code is inadequate, officials will say, because fires could still happen. Howard rightly condemns such chasing after the will-o'-the-wisp of perfection because it eventually leads to a totalitarian state that still can't solve all problems. "Mistakes will always be made," he declares.

Howard even cites the libertarian Friedrich Hayek to support his position. Hayek pointed out that central control of society is always inefficient because the center cannot know enough to regulate wisely the activities of millions of individuals. Government, said Hayek, should therefore be small. Howard agrees that rule from the center is unwise, but, for him, this does not imply a small government. Instead, it means only that government should act differently. "We...have deluded ourselves into thinking that government should only act through central, self-executing rules," he says.

Well, in what other way can government act? At this point, Howard becomes evasive. Although he never comes right out and says it, his solution for destructive, rule-bound government appears to be to give government officials the freedom to be arbitrary, to regulate as they personally see fit. Legislatures should approve general policy goals—reducing fire danger in the community, let us say—and the rest would be up to the individual inspectors. They would be empowered to fine citizens, or jail us, or to let us off the hook, according to their own, subjective estimates of each case.

To avoid suffocating rules and regulations, citizens would not be allowed to protest arbitrary, unfair, or cruel decisions of government employees. After all, to complain to the courts would restart the litigation engine Howard deplores. And if complaints to legislators were allowed, this would lead to the detailed laws that, according to Howard, prevent regulators from exercising common sense.

So Howard arrives at the same place reached by Osborne and Gaebler: to overcome the waste and destructiveness of big government, taxation with representation must go by the board. Whereas Osborne and Gaebler aren't aware that short-circuiting red tape is the road to tyranny, Howard, the lawyer, does sense the distastefulness of his solution. That is why he

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Kemp until the very last weeks of his presidential hopes refused to come out for what he condemned as "punitive" Charles Murray-style reforms of that welfare state. The only escape from the dilemma was to roll back the welfare state in a way that didn't actually deprive any beneficiary of its benefits.

Clearly, Frum thinks that the urban black poor are not pretty much like other Americans, and he hopes the Republican standard bearer for 1996 will labor under no such delusion.

But the notion that urban minority populations are exceptional is not a fact but a theory, and a dubious one at that. And in any case, what about the needs of urban poor people, black or otherwise, for shelter, health care, education, food, and some hope for a better lifer? Reforming the welfare state in the style of Charles Murray is, at best, only a very small piece of the puzzle. One of the things which commended Jack Kemp to so many Americans was his effusive optimism that help could be provided to the poor even as we sought to free the economy from excessive taxation and regulation. If he was on occasion overly optimistic, then this was a fault much to be preferred to the dour insensitivity of those who, with no first-hand knowledge of or meaningful involvement with the ghetto poor, forecast the coming of "custodial democracy."

A conservatism worthy of majority support in this country would not view with cool indifference a circumstance in which so many Americans suffer such unspeakable degradation. The efforts of various conservative writers to attribute this deep-seated, complex problem to the disincentives of federal assistance programs, the so-called pathologies of black culture, or the cognitive disabilities of certain groups of Americans seem designed mainly to rationalize their disengagement from it. Where is their passion? Where is their moral outrage? In light of the scale of the tragedy unfolding in cities across the land, the narrowly academic and highly ideological posture of conservative intellectuals—who are in effect saying, "too bad about what's happening, but we told

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wardly mobile, younger, educated workers, but almost exclusively to older, unionized workers at defense plants. Not surprisingly, Brown's economic strategy focused on fanciful public-private "defense conversion" and "green" schemes favored by environmentalists, labor, some large corporations, and neo-socialist academics. As the economy improved throughout the campaign, Brown's dark vision of California began to look more and more anachronistic.

Meanwhile, Pete Wilson, the ultimate negative campaigner, began to appear as the relative optimist. In the end, Wilson pummeled Brown, particularly among the new constituency—beating her by a remarkable 27 percentage points among voters making over $60,000 a year. He also beat her by some 12 points among those aged 30 to 49, and by better than ten points among college graduates. Wilson also managed to gain 40 percent—twice the percentage earned by Bush two years earlier—of prosperous but traditionally Democratic Jewish voters. Wilson further demonstrated his command of the new constituency by taking two key Democratic urban counties: Los Angeles and Santa Clara (home of Silicon Valley), both of which had gone heavily for Clinton in 1992. Meanwhile, Republican takeovers in suburban congressional districts near San Diego, the South Bay region of Los Angeles, the northern edge of the San Francisco Bay area, and fast-growing Fresno revealed a GOP tide in regions where California's emerging industries are flourishing.

The process that led to this sad state of affairs for liberalism began at the end of the New Deal, when modern liberalism was at the apex of its power. Prior to the New Deal, liberalism—whether expressed in Republican, Democratic, or various third-party efforts—spoke with a moral fervor in step with mainstream American political values. As far back as the time of Andrew Jackson in the first part of the nineteenth century, American progressives combined ideological clarity and moral intensity, directed to a rising constituency. In the evolving American economy of Jackson's day, the new constituents were

is obscure and self-deprecating in spelling out his position. He knows that, baldly stated, his recommendation could be described as substituting "the whim of a power-crazed bureaucrat" (his own words) for "the rule of law."

Howard has inadvertently exposed a fatal weakness of the modern welfare state: We insist that its coercive powers be under the control of citizens, but the only way this can be effected is through rules and regulations that, as he puts it, "make stupidity and caprice dominant features of our society."

The inability of Ambies to understand the causes of red tape grows out of a larger problem: they don't understand government. They push into the background its major defining feature, namely, its use of force. This is understandable. Someone who wants to "believe deeply" in government must hold up an image of a sensitive, appealing institution, not a menacing organization whose power grows out of the barrel of a gun.

The impulse to disguise government's real character produces seriously misleading analysis, however. One notices, for example, that Osborne and Gaebler's *Reinventing Government* contains not one word about the sacrifices, abuses, or inefficiencies connected with taxation. As far as the authors are concerned, government's billions might as well bubble up happily from some artesian money source, causing no inconvenience to anyone. No wonder these authors don't view government as a necessary evil: they've shut their eyes to its hurtful side.

The same blindness undermines their argument that administrators should "reinvent" government by behaving like capitalist entrepreneurs. How could this be possible? Government is a system for the coercive allocation of resources by individuals—politicians, administrators—who *do not have a personal financial stake* in their efficient deployment. As such, government is almost exactly the opposite of capitalism—where resources are allocated on a voluntary basis by agents who do have a personal stake in their efficient use.

Failure to understand this distinction leads Osborne and Gaebler to misinterpret coercive governmental actions as if

you liberals so"—is simply breathtaking. Is it paranoia for a black to wonder whether this posture toward urban prob-

EVEN AS THEY BECAME AN IMPORTANT PART OF THE ECONOMY, SMALLER FIRMS AND THEIR NON-UNIONIZED WORKERS REMAINED ALL BUT INVISIBLE TO LIBERALS—EXCEPT AS POSSIBLE TARGETS FOR INCREASED REGULATION OR UNIONIZATION.

—Joel Kotkin

lems would be embraced with such confidence among conservatives if those inner-city hell holes were populated by whites?

The deeper problem here is that "true believers" guided by ideological convictions, to the apparent exclusion of other, higher commitments, have been allowed to define the debate on social welfare issues among conservatives. Faith in the market mechanism, this time in the social arena, rules supreme. Given the powerful influence of Christian conservatives among Republicans at present, this is a curious development. The fact that conservative discussion of welfare policy now derives principally from the speculations of social scientists attests to the power of a consistent ideological vision to dominate moral sensibilities among political activists. We have seen this before of course, on the Left, with tragic consequences.

Intellectual hubris is no more becoming on the Right. When eggs are broken to make the ideologue's omelet, the lives of real people are at stake. Conservatives should view with skepticism the notion that economic or biological factors underlie prob-

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primarily western farmers and entrepreneurs, as well as urban mechanics and artisans. Ideologically, the Jacksonians presented a coherent nationalistic message that appealed to the emerging ethos of American democratic capitalism. The Jacksonians also reflected, rather than opposed, the "restless energy" of that period's Protestant revival movement.

THE PHRASE "CONSERVATIVE REVOLUTION" WOULD HAVE SEEMED AN OXYMORON TO A CLASSICAL CONSERVATIVE LIKE EDMUND BURKE.

—Glenn Loury

Likewise, the anti-slavery movement that achieved power under Lincoln based its war on slavery largely on Christian principles, and the abolitionist program of ending slavery and defeating rebellion created a clear, if divisive, message for taking control of the country. The Republicans also captured the energy of rising constituencies, notably yeoman farmers of the West and North, plus the emerging industrial and professional classes. The economic message of these groups managed to blend with the Union cause.

This same confluence of constituency, ideology, and moral power arose again with the turn-of-the-century Progressives. Like the Jacksonians, they identified with the broad middle classes, resisting the encroachments of large, depersonalized corporate monopolies. Their message of reform did not seek so much to expand government as to assure free and fair competition. Critically, the Progressives, like the abolitionists and Jacksonians before them, did not oppose the traditional, largely Protestant, moral ethos of America. Instead, the Progressives drew openly on allies within the churches, particularly reform-minded Protestants.

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they were voluntary business transactions. In Fairfield, California, the city government forced a developer to donate land for a golf course before permitting him to build on his land. This, the authors comment, meant that "the city built its first public golf course with no subsidy from the taxpayers." Quite wrong. Of course there was a subsidy: it was a "tax" coerced from the developer—and all those families who later purchased his lots. This kind of arbitrary abuse of government's zoning and permitting power is causing much popular anger, and is leading to reprimands from the courts.

Even if we agree to view government officials as entrepreneurs and pretend they're not carrying guns, the "government reinvention" thesis still doesn't add up to a defense of government. Take the way Osborne and Gaebler unintentionally undercut the case for government by embracing voluntarism. In one of many examples, Gaebler proudly points out that half the cost of Visalia's swimming pool was met by a community fund-raising drive, not taxes. That leaves readers wondering, If you can raise half the money for a swimming pool through donations, why not all of it? In that case, a voluntary organization could provide swimming for Visalia without relying on the coercions of the tax system and city administration. Keep letting private, voluntary groups tackle problems, and you get a smaller government.

An exposition of Ambie thinking would not be complete without registering the role played by faith. A century of socialist ideology (which we might date as beginning in the U.S. with Edward Bellamy's hugely successful 1888 novel *Looking Backward*) has left every feature of our culture permeated with a pro-government thrust. School and college curricula, books, movies, popular discourse, daily journalism, even our art, from Mt. Rushmore to the NEA and NPR, all condition us to the idea that a big, active government is the best government. The result is that even when the actual life experience of an average American leads him to the conclusion that modern big government is a failure, he simply has nowhere to go.

To see the power of this reflex, consider

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lems like those involving sexuality and parenting. After all, behaviors of this sort reflect people's basic understandings of what gives life meaning. The idea that the mysteries of human motivation within the family are susceptible to calculated intervention by the state would have been rejected out of hand by a classical conservative like Burke, to whom the phrase "conservative revolution" would have seemed an oxymoron. This classical conservatism had a view of society that was inconsistent with the mechanistic zeal of the revolutionary. Yet today's conservative revolutionaries would have us believe that only by dismantling the federal establishment can the deepest social problems of American society be solved.

I doubt that the cleverest economist (and I know some smart ones) could design an incentive scheme for responsible parenting that would be as effective as the broad acceptance among men and women of the idea that they are God's stewards in the lives of their children. The best pregnancy deterrent may be to inculcate in the heart of each adolescent the belief that, as Paul wrote to the Corinthinians, "Your body is the temple of the Holy Spirit... Therefore, honor God with your body." When the carpenter from Galilee told his tempter, "Man does not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God," he spoke to economic determinists of all eras. And, though biological determinists seem not to have been anticipated in the Gospels, one readily imagines that He might tell them something like, "God is not finished with us when he deals us our genetic hand."

There is also some wisdom in the New Testament for those conservatives who see in America's black community another country, separate from and unrelated to the one in which they live, inhabited by a different kind of man. In Acts 10:34-35 one finds Simon Peter saying, "God is no respecter of persons, but in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him." The point here is that the problems observed in the darkest corners of our society are *human* problems, not *racial* ones. The fault-line between civilization and barbarism runs down the middle of every human heart, and the grace of God remains available to provide a way out for all who

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This variety of liberalism began to fade under the enormous shocks of the 1930s. The economic collapse of the Depression shattered liberalism's traditional alliance with entrepreneurs. Writing in 1937, Roosevelt "brain truster" Thurman Arnold laid out the New Deal premise that we had passed beyond the era of "pioneer civilization" and its individualistic, capitalist way of life. The rise of big business, "industrial feudalism" as he called it, required a new, more assertive role for government. Equally important, liberalism began to separate from its traditional moral bearings during the New Deal. Under the New Dealers, the language of rights and obligations, of right and wrong, became gradually supplanted by the logic of scientism and social welfare. The "Protestant ethic," Vice President Henry Wallace observed, would now be replaced by a "social ethic."

As long as ordinary citizens felt somewhat threatened by big, industrial capitalism, the New Deal's ideological agenda retained significant appeal and cogency. Large, growing groups in American society—blacks, trade unionists, urban ethnics, public-sector workers—all shared a common interest in the emerging welfare state. When World War II came along, followed by the Cold War, the need to coordinate industry with government added a moral cause and a practical rationale for a powerful central state.

By the late 1970s, though, New Deal liberalism began to unravel. The role of large corporations as job-providers began to fade, as smaller, nimbler organizations became a more important part of the economy. Very few of these smaller companies looked towards government assistance. Even fewer proved susceptible to union organizing. As such, these new firms and their workers became all but invisible to liberals—except as possible targets for increased regulation or unionization.

At the same time, the rational scientism of the New Deal became more aggressively secularist. Not only was the idea of separation of church and state pressed to extremes, but the very idea of religion as a positive force in society came under attack. Finally, narrow advocacy groups like feminists, homosexuals, and civil rights organizations gained increasing power within lib-

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the case of Jonathan Rauch, author of *Demosclerosis: The Silent Killer of American Politics*. The book is a model of clear writing and careful, systematic analysis. The only disconcerting aspect is the way the author's pro-government prejudice remains immune to his own logic. Rauch is an earnest fan of FDR and LBJ, one who thrills at being in the U.S. Capitol building, "catching my breath a little in awe" at the seat of massive governmental power. He is a supporter of redistributive programs, and believes unquestioningly in "government's power to solve problems." And yet each point of his specific analysis is a heavy nail driven boomingly into the coffin of pro-government ideology. It is almost painful to see this fine mind resist its own arguments.

Unlike most Ambies, Rauch does not evade government's ugly reliance on force. He begins by pointing out that ordinary commerce is a voluntary transaction. If people offer to sell you useless or destructive things, you can turn them down. No one can force you to buy. "In America, only a few classes of people have the power to take your money if you don't fend them off. One is the criminal class. People who break into your car or rob your house." Politics, Rauch continues, is dangerously close to the same thing. "Criminals...aren't the only ones who play the distributive game. Legal, noncriminal transfer-seeking is perfectly possible—on one condition. You need the law's help. That is, you need to persuade politicians or courts to intervene on your behalf."

Rauch's analysis leads him to a bedrock truth about government helping programs: every good that government tries to do implies harm to someone else. Government transactions are not like voluntary commercial exchanges where both sides increase utility. They are not even zero-sum games where A's loss is B's gain. The overhead costs of running the system of extraction leave everyone poorer. Rauch is eloquent in describing the indirect and hidden costs of "the parasite economy." "Eventually, as everyone seeks subsidies and everyone pays for everyone else's subsidies, the economic distortions become too numerous to count. Money flies in every direction simultaneously." The end result is "demosclerosis," an economic and political paralysis.

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would seek it. While rejecting moral relativism, and so standing ready to judge better and worse ways of living, we should eschew collective racial condemnation or notions of collective racial virtue.

> PEOPLE DON'T RECOGNIZE BUREAUCRACY AND PAPERWORK AS AN INTEGRAL PART OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT. THAT IS WHY THE CAMPAIGN PROMISE TO "CLEAN UP THE MESS IN WASHINGTON" KEEPS WORKING EVEN AFTER TWO HUNDRED YEARS.
>
> —*James Payne*

Unfortunately, some conservatives now write about "the problem of black crime," about "the crisis of black illegitimacy," about "the threat of black social pathology." But what has race *per se* to do with these problems? These are problems of sin, not of skin, and I would have imagined that religious conservatives would be the ones objecting most strenuously to this lapse of social virtue on the Right. Sadly, they have not been.

It is true that, in the recent history of American social policy, it was liberals who "played the race card" by arguing that the disadvantages of blacks justified race-based remedies. Some liberals even claimed that the self-esteem of black youngsters could not be secured without rewriting history so as to provide minorities with equal time. But, while those liberal efforts are largely discredited, we now find conservatives, with the political initiative in hand, acting to maintain and reinforce this inordinate focus on race.

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eralism, and began to remake liberal Democratic politics in their own peculiar image. This almost guaranteed the marginalization of progressive politics.

In order to break out of their current dilemma, liberals in or out of the Democratic Party must begin to forge links to a rising new constituency. They must recover the sort of ideological integrity and moral fervor that drove progressive movements in the past. In the end, this will require breaking with the "core tenants" of today's Democratic party and seeking a broader bloc of potential voters.

In magazines such as *In These Times* and organizations like the Economic Policy Institute, many on the left side of liberalism call for a return to what might be called neo-New Deal politics. Rejecting the accommodationist tendencies of Democratic moderates, they seek to promote class- and race-based political platforms that strongly support higher taxes, bigger and more intrusive government, racial preferences, and trade protectionism.

This program is the sum of the demands from minority warlords, government employees, and unions. As the recent battle over the federal budget has shown, these groups can still muster an impressive coalition capable of slowing any national movement to the right. But in the long run, their strategy cannot prevail. For one thing, it lacks any economic reality. With less than 20 percent of private-sector workers now in unions or employed in Fortune 500 firms, a politics that claims to protect people from big business has limited appeal.

And although today's economy certainly has problems, these result more from global and technological forces than from anything that government could hope to control. The left-wing strategy also lacks any clear emergency, such as the Depression, World War II, the Cold War, or the civil rights movement, to provide a compelling rationale for a major expansion of government. Perhaps most importantly, the neo-New Dealers lack the kind of moral and ideological underpinnings that steadied earlier progressive movements. Indeed, today's left-wing Democrats insist on carrying a bag of agenda

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Rauch's probing analysis doesn't lead him to be skeptical of government, though. Whatever we do to combat demosclerosis, he insists, we must not turn away from government. "The reason to prune and chop is not to kill government, or even to shrink it, but to restore its flexibility and effectiveness. The point is to break the stranglehold of entrenched claimants and to clear ground for new ventures."

What new ventures? Rauch speaks as though there were a long list of admirable government programs that we want and need, but he is strangely reluctant to discuss them. All of his detailed discussion of policies—from rural electrification to public education—show how wasteful and hypocritical existing programs are. The reader strains to find even a single program recommended. The closest Rauch comes to approving of a federal policy is his comment that "Medicare was a shining reform in its day." This declaration is not elaborated or defended by one word further. The striking absence of specific policy recommendations indicates that Rauch has crossed from analysis into faith. He wants to believe in government, but his thoroughgoing logic has stripped away too much illusion.

What Rauch seems to sense but will not admit is that if 100 government programs result in the wasteful, corrupt, and demoralizing politics he describes, then simply having fewer programs will not make them virtuous. Even one program involves the same sinister, anti-social calculus Rauch warns against. Medicare, for example, had destructive aspects from the beginning: poor working individuals were forced to fund the medical expenses of wealthier non-workers. In the process, some of these poorer workers were thrown into unemployment by the burden of Medicare taxes on small companies. Medicare also perverted medical incentives, rewarding the self-indulgent, self-destructive, and profligate at the expense of the sober, responsible, and frugal. It also led to health-care cost inflation, widespread fraud, and a blizzard of wasteful paperwork to try to stop the fraud.

How long can we expect this ambivalent middle to dominate American politics with its defenses of big government for which there is no foundation in reason?

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THE REALIZATION OF GOVERNMENT FAILURE IS A LOOMING FACT OF OUR ERA. ANOTHER DECADE OF THIS GROWING DISSATISFACTION COULD PUSH MANY AMBIVALENT CENTRISTS INTO THE RIGHT.

—James Payne

Thus, when conservatives talk of the "culture of poverty" in reference to urban black communities they miss the deeper truth, which is that America's great problem is not *cultural* but *moral* relativism—a reluctance to stand behind the traditional ethical standards needed to guide the behavior of blacks and whites alike. Similarly, one conservative critic now declares victory over Afrocentrists by noting that the latter's search for a black Shakespeare has ended in failure. But surely the larger point is that such a search was unnecessary all along, because Shakespeare belongs every bit as much to the ghetto dwelling black youngster as he does to the offspring of middle class whites. Why are conservatives, who make so much of the importance of being "color-blind" in public policy, not the first to stress this point?

There is hypocrisy in this conservative stance. Critics of affirmative action often invoke Martin Luther King, Jr., who in 1963 said famously, "I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character." It is a corollary of this principle that, when gazing upon Americans who are welfare mothers, juvenile felons, or the cognitively deficient, we should see human beings with problems, not races of people plagued by pathology. Yet conservatives don't always do so.

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items that alienate many potential supporters. Franklin Roosevelt, Harry Truman, and John Kennedy never had to sell such things as gay rights, racial quotas, and the banishment of religion from public life along with their economic agendas.

Ultimately, then, liberalism's only hope lies in a radical break with the immediate past. Progressives must look, not back at the American economy of the 1930s, but to the industries that are creating jobs and opportunities for the current generation. As Bill Clinton proved in 1992, albeit dishonestly, many Americans are open to a progressive message that combines concern for the poor with a strong advocacy of limited, responsive, and efficient government. They are also likely to support liberals bearing banners against conservatives whose anti-government rhetoric belies their desire to go beyond moral suasion toward outright state regulation of personal lifestyles and morality.

A new liberalism must differentiate itself from conservative Republicanism by opposing special privileges for well-connected corporations, advocating reduced tax burdens for the poor and working classes, supporting infrastructure expenditures, and proposing reasonable environmental protection. These sorts of positions can appeal to Americans broadly, in the best progressive tradition, and not simply as members of a particular ethnic tribe or interest group.

Finally, liberals need to regain the moral voice that, with the help of religion, drove successful progressive movements throughout our history. Instead of waging war on religious beliefs, liberals must learn again, in the manner of Martin Luther King, Jr. or the turn-of-the-century Progressives, to preach their message in a way that promotes, rather than expresses hostility to, mainstream values.

Only then, in sync with both the economic and moral temper of the times, can liberals find a positive, influential role in shaping 21st-century America.

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JAMES PAYNE

Intellectually, the Ambie position seems threadbare, but that probably doesn't matter. Intellectual coherence has never been a requirement for political movements. What accounts for success in politics is the durability of a worldview's errors, and on this score, the Ambies seem well-positioned.

The misunderstanding about red tape, for example, is ancient. People don't see bureaucracy and paperwork as an integral part of democratic government. They view it as an inessential wart, easily cut off by sincere and resolute public officials. That is why the campaign promise to "clean up the mess in Washington" keeps working even after 200 years. The illusion that government is something other than a coercive institution backed by violence also has long deep roots. That's why when IRS officials call the tax system "voluntary," remarkably few people laugh.

Today, the logical gaps and social conditioning that encourage support of big government are magnified by the sheer scale of government funding. Tax money now funds billions of dollars worth of personal transfers, and thousands of schools and buildings and roads, plus television and radio production companies, research organizations, charities, and pressure groups that all propagandize for further government activity. This threatens to become an infinite loop: taxes buy vested interests, who agitate to increase taxes, buying further transfers to the interests, and so on.

For those who fear the specter of Ambie dominance this analysis seems to portend, there is a ray of hope: the growing realization of government failure. This negativism is a looming fact of our era. It is this rumbling force which spawned the Ambies in the first place, driving thinkers like Howard, Rauch, Osborne, and Gaebler from a comfortable confidence in government into their uneasy, ambivalent stances. Another decade of this growing dissatisfaction could well push such people even further to the right. Perhaps some might even join Founding Fathers like Thomas Jefferson in agreeing that government is a necessary *evil* after all.

James L. Payne's recent books include The Culture of Spending *and* Costly Returns.

GLENN LOURY

Selective remembrance of King's call for color-blindness diminishes the challenge which his life, and death, should pose for all Americans. Two years before his most famous speech, King delivered a commencement address at Lincoln University in which he discussed another dream for our nation:

> One of the first things we notice in this dream is an amazing universalism.... It does not say all white men [are created equal], it says all men, which includes black men.... And there is another thing we see in this dream that ultimately distinguishes democracy and our form of government from all of the totalitarian regimes that emerge in history. It says that each individual has certain basic rights that are neither conferred by nor derived from the state. To discover where they come from, it is necessary to move back behind the dim mist of eternity, for they are God-given. Very seldom, if ever, in the history of the world has a sociopolitical document expressed in such profoundly eloquent and unequivocal language the dignity and the worth of the human personality. The American dream reminds us that every man is heir to the legacy of worthiness.

This, too, would be a worthy dream for conservatism: to insure that every American can lay claim to his most precious civic inheritance—a legacy of worthiness. To secure it, conservatives must learn not to look upon poor urban blacks as the Other, aliens, apart from and a threat to our civilization. Instead, these Americans must be seen as inseparably interwoven constituents of the larger social fabric.

"...Even the straightest
Of issues looks pretty oblique
When a movement turns into a clique"
—Kingsley Amis

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The 104th Congress:

VERDICT PENDING

BY DON FEDER

After the 1994 election produced the first Republican Congress in four decades, Speaker-to-be Newt Gingrich boasted that the coming year would show the nation "how to end programs, not just create them." By September 1995, House Budget Committtee chairman John Kasich (R-Ohio), was lamenting lost opportunities: "Think of how much we haven't done."

In truth, the 104th Congress had its triumphs and tragedies. There were daring initiatives and missed opportunities, boldness and timidity, faith kept and trust betrayed.

I admit it. I belong to the brotherhood of we-want-it-all-and-we-want-it-now conservative commentators, a group exceedingly difficult to please. From the comfort of our Monday-morning quaterback chairs, it's easy to find fault with Newt and Company. So, in fairness, let's look first at the Republican accomplishments. At this writing (early December), Republicans are well on their way to enacting the first tax cut in more than a decade. The seven-year, $245 billion measure would offer a $500-per-child credit to couples earning up to $110,000, with two-thirds of the benefits going to those with incomes under $50,000. So much for tax cuts for the rich.

The bill also includes a cut in the capital gains tax that will shift funds from tax shelters to more productive job-creating investments, as well as an expansion of Individual Retirement Accounts to facilitate golden-years savings, home purchases, and education. Still, the much-touted measure is less than meets the eye. It's a fraction of the tax hikes of 1990 and 1993, which gobbled up 0.54 percent and 0.73 percent of Gross Domestic Product respectively. By comparison, the Republican cut will reduce collections by only 0.4 percent of GDP, less than one-third of the last two increases. Even with the reduction, the federal government's intake is expected to rise from $1.36 trillion in 1995 to $1.82 trillion in the year 2002, around $66 billion a year. In this context, Republican tax relief is essentially chump change.

Welfare and Medicaid reform must be counted among the GOP's major successes. For the first time in 60 years, welfare will no longer be a federal entitlement. States will have the authority to experiment with various devices to end multi-generational dependency. One part of the package, called the federal family cap, means that women on welfare who have more children will not automatically receive additional payments for each new child. If state legislators want to continue subsidizing additional welfare kids, they'll have to pass explicit legislation to do so—which will be hard to sell to their tax-paying constituents. By the year 2000, 40 percent of a state's Aid to Families with Dependent Children recipients will be required to work. States that reduce their illegitimacy rate one percentage point below the 1995 level will receive a special bonus. To help reduce illegitimacy, Washington will provide $75 million for state-run chastity programs.

On the downside, out of 75 means-tested federal welfare programs, all but a handful survived. Food stamps aren't even touched. States won't have the flexibility to move funds from one program to another. And it would have been far better for Republicans to cut off all cash benefits to single mothers under 21. Still, the Heritage Foundation's Robert Rector, father of conservative welfare reform, gives Republicans an A- on work requirements and a C- on attacking illegitimacy.

After 30-plus years of soaring expenditures and galloping bureaucratic growth, Republicans have tried to introduce free-market competition into a Medicare system careening toward the abyss. (Since 1990, costs have in-

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creased 12 percent annually.) By allowing recipients to choose among competing providers, Republicans aim to reduce costs, increase efficiency, and perhaps establish a model for Social Security reform down the road.

Those are significant achievements. But don't start singing the national anthem just yet. A glance at the bottom line of the federal balance sheet tells why. Yes, on paper the GOP produced the first balanced budget in more than 25 years—stretched over seven years, a scenario that assumes the party will still be in power in 2002 and that no major recession will have occurred. But even if the GOP's balanced-budget-in-seven-years plan is adopted, federal spending will still rise by almost three percent a year through 2002. Overall, Republicans aren't talking about reducing government, only cutting projected increases.

In May, Kasich produced a list of over 300 federal agencies and programs slated for oblivion. Thanks to the herd of thundering RINOs (Republicans In Name Only) in the House and Senate, most of these government money-pits are still enjoying good health, though some with slightly diminished vigor. Of all its misjudgments, failing to defund the Left was the GOP's most egregious error. For more than 30 years, liberals have lobbied, litigated, and propagandized from our pockets, using confiscated earnings to further the destruction of the middle class. Under the Republican budget, funding for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting shrinks from $315 million to $260 million. National Endowment for the Arts appropriations drop from $162 million to $99.5 million. The National Endowment for the Humanities loses about one-third of its budget, going from $172 million to $110 million.

None of it is enough. All of these advocacy agencies were left alive to fight another day, and fight they will. A weed isn't killed by trimming its leaves but by pulling up the roots. In the early '80s, for example, Reaganites performed a similar operation on the Legal Services Corporation, only to see the Kunstler Corps grow back again. This time, Sen. Pete Domenici (R-N.M.) and a bloc of 16 so-called GOP "moderates" in the Senate saved the Legal Services Corp. The New Mexico senator declaimed, "I don't know what's wrong with the United States of America saying to needy people of this country that the judicial system is not only for the rich." Among the "impoverished" persons who will continue to receive tax-funded legal services are gay activists, abortion advocates, the welfare lobby, and the affirmative action crew.

Another Republican senator privately admitted to a conservative activist, "Our big donors serve on the boards of symphonies and museums. They want the NEA to continue." In consequence, the National Endowment for the Arts will continue to lavish our tax dollars on projects that preach multiculturalism, promote homosexuality, and attack Christians, conservatives, and other elite-approved targets.

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Powerful charities and associations—including Planned Parenthood and the American Association of Retired Persons (AARP)—have had their lease on the Treasury renewed. Republican Congressmen David McIntosh, Ernest Istook, and Bob Ehrlich proposed a series of modest reforms here. Groups that get more than a third of their budgets from the taxpayers would have been barred from spending in excess of $100,000 on "political advocacy." Those whose tax subsidies amount to less than one-third of their budgets could have spent up to $1 million to affect legislation or the decisions of governmental agencies. The 96 percent of nonprofits that spend less than $25,000 annually on lobbying would have been totally exempt. The proposal aimed only to end the most flagrant abuses of federal funding, for instance giant organizations like AARP taking millions in federal grants while spending other income to push statist legislation.

But when nonprofit lobbyists began whining about the proposed Republican "gag rule" and insisting on their "right" to tax-funded politics, GOP moderates caved in. Sens. Mark Hatfield (R-Ore.) and Jim Jeffords (R-Vt.) removed the Istook-McIntosh-Ehrlich amendment from the Treasury-Appropriations conference report.

Republicans also failed to pass two key constitutional reforms. The Balanced Budget Amendment (BBA) passed the House by 300 to 132. Out of 230 Republicans voting, 228 supported it. Then the BBA failed by a heartbreaking single vote in the Senate. Every Republican senator save one (Hatfield, again) fell behind the amendment to make deficits history. The GOP leadership cracked the whip hard on this crucial issue.

But if it did itself proud on the BBA, the leadership disgraced itself on term limitation. The term-limits amendment fell far short of House approval (227 to 204, 63 votes shy of the necessary two-thirds majority), and the Senate didn't even vote on it. It was all a charade. The leadership didn't want it to pass, or they would have brought term limits up as a statute (requiring a simple majority), as they did with the line-item veto. When asked why this course wasn't taken with term limitation, Ohio Rep. John A. Boehner, chairman of the GOP conference, confessed that the line-item veto was something his colleagues were "actually trying to pass."

It may be just as well that the amendment failed. The House version permitted a comfortable 12 years in office, instead of the 6-year limit mandated by most voter-approved, state term-limitation measures (now overturned by a recent Supreme Court decision). Five Republican committee chairmen voted against even the 12-year amendment. Freshman Rep. Michael Forbes (R-N.Y.) told the *New York Times,* "Candidly, this leadership didn't want [term limits] any more than the old leadership did."

When it came to cutting budgetary fat, eliminating anachronistic agencies, and attacking corporate welfare, Republicans wielded a butter knife. As *Newsweek* columnist Robert J. Samuelson noted, many "silly, ineffective, outdated or unimportant programs have escaped the guillotine." *Vive la révolution?* The Gingrich gang pledged to abolish three federal departments: Com-

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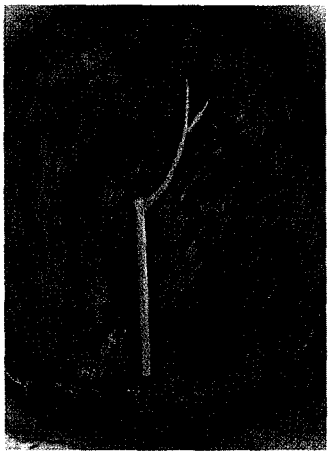
merce, Housing and Urban Development, and Education, yet all continue to enjoy what Ronald Reagan once referred to as the closest thing on Earth to everlasting life—bureaucratic existence.

When the federal government closed for a few days in November, nonessential workers were sent home. At HUD, 98 percent vacated the premises, as did 89 percent of Education employees, and 67 percent of the Commerce Department's staff. Yet these behemoths with their largely nonessential work forces will continue to consume essential resources.



Consider the Commerce Department, that wellspring of corporate welfare, that Oscar Mayer of Washington pork, home to more than 100 separate trade programs. Initially, Republicans wanted to abolish the department—a move they estimated would save $7.8 billion over five years. Given that the department's budget was $5.3 billion in 1994 alone, why such skimpy savings? Because Republicans intended to shift most of the department's functions to new entities. Among them, the *New York Times* observed, "would be a United States Science and Technology Administration, a National Marine Resources Administration, and an Economic Development Regional Administration."

Vice President Al Gore jeered: "When you look at it, the buildings don't change, the offices don't change, the people don't change. In the end, you get a different name plate on the door and some extra expense for changing the stationary." Had it succeeded, the Republican attempt to abolish the Commerce Department would have amounted to cosmetic surgery performed with tweezers. In the end, the GOP settled for a 10 percent reduction in the department's overall budget.

Among the short ribs Republicans left intact are the Small Business Administration, which spends $590 million a year to stimulate enterprise via bureaucracy; maritime subsidies (around $600 million annually lavished on 384 U.S.-flag ships out of almost 24,000 merchant vessels worldwide); Amtrak, whose $750 million tax-funding is the equivalent of a $30 gift to every passenger who rides the system; and the Rural Electrification Administration, which provides cheap power to favored consumers and actually came out of the "budget-cutting" process with a 33 percent increase in funding. Sen. Robert Byrd (D-W. Va.) once the Galactic Emperor of Grease, these days frequently sides with Republicans on the Senate Appropriations Committee. The Robert C. Byrd Locks and Dam Project got another $10 million in fiscal 1996, bringing its eventual swag to over $348 million. Thomas Schatz, president of Citizens Against Government Waste, notes that amendments to eliminate the high-fat-content Economic Development Administration and Appalachian Regional Commission each lost by about 200 votes because of massive Republican defections.

Former Minnesota Democratic Congressman Tim Penny, co-sponsor of last year's Penny-Kasich bill to reduce federal spending by $100 billion, says of Republican budgeteers, "What they are planning to eliminate is pretty small stuff.... Too many programs have merely been shaved when they should have been uprooted. They will just grow back again."

In fairness, the Republican Congress labored under some serious handicaps. In the House, Gingrich had the narrowest majority since the days of Dwight Eisenhower. And in the Senate, with 60 votes needed to break a filibuster, its 53 Republicans had to go into a contest united *and* win the backing of seven Democrats to prevail. The Cato Institute's Stephen Moore says he's impressed with what Gingrich, Majority Leader Dick Armey, and Kasich accomplished, given that "there isn't a conservative governing coalition in Congress." With 35 to 50 GOP moderates in the House and 15 RINOs in the Senate, there is no clear ideological majority on Capitol Hill.

Far too many Republican congressmen, especially powerful committee and subcommittee chairmen, are cast from the Nixon-Ford-Bush mold. They are process men who believe that knowing how to operate the welfare state's buttons and levers is more important than attachment to principle or pursuit of a free-market/limited government/pro-family agenda. It will take another two elections to wash these dregs out of office. In the meantime, the damage the Republican Left has done to the party is incalculable. In 1996, Republicans should be running on their congressional accomplishments in 1995. Instead, they served chicken flavored tofu to the red-meat voters who ordered an insurrection in 1994.

Rep. Mark Souder (R-Ind.), a House freshman and former Senate aide, explained how missed opportunities will affect presidential politics: "The problem is that we can't beat President Clinton if the Senate keeps wishy-washing and stopping and blocking the revolution before we can get it to Clinton. We can't even get a real test of whether or not Clinton is vetoing our revolution to show the American people what Clinton is doing." Instead of building a clear record of principled government shrinkage, congressional Republicans have set up a situation where the president can accuse them of being mean to the poor, elderly, veterans, etc., without being able to provide the heads of vanquished dragons or a veto record that exposes the president as the liberal ideologue that he is.

Given the limitations they labored under, the Republican Congress made undeniable gains. But did it go far enough to convince the American people that Washington is finally headed in the right direction? "If this is the start of something big, it isn't a bad start," says Moore. But whether it's the first shot of a long-running revolution or a play destined to close after the first performance will depend on the perception of Middle America. Will we see 1994's work as faltering steps on the road to national recovery, returning American government to the American people, or just business as usual with a snazzy P.R. façade?

The answer is in an envelope that will remain sealed until November 5, 1996.

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FIRE-BREATHERS

TAE Interviews Six House Freshmen

BIG QUESTION: Will the 73 Republican freshmen in the House of Representatives really shake things up? Or will they raise a little fuss and then settle into bland careers as timeservers and conformists? To try and find out, The American Enterprise interviewed six celebrity members of the Class of '94:

SONNY BONO of California was once the croaking foil to his former wife, Cher, in one of pop music's most memorable duos. Despite the shambling hippie image, the amiable Bono was a crackerjack at writing songs and hustling them onto the charts.

HELEN CHENOWETH of Idaho, soft-spoken and demure of demeanor, is the new heroine of the right-wing populists of the West. She is a champion of the anti-environmentalist Wise Use Movement; knicknacks in her office read "Save the Spotted Cow" and "Hug a Logger—You'll Never Go Back To Trees."

J.D. HAYWORTH of Arizona is a hail-fellow-well-met. A former sports reporter, he has a booming voice made for oratory. An interviewer can't help but look around for hidden stereo speakers.

STEVE LARGENT of Oklahoma, regarded as a leading Christian conservative, is used to a sort of adulation constituents seldom lavish on congressmen: He was a Hall of Fame wide receiver for the Seattle Seahawks of the National Football League.

DAVID McINTOSH of Indiana, the youngest of the group at 37, is also its grizzled Beltway veteran. He ran Vice President Quayle's Council on Competitiveness before repatriating to the Hoosier state.

STEVE STOCKMAN of Texas won his seat by knocking off imperious 21-term incumbent Jack Brooks. Stockman's resume is quirky, even for this group. An accountant, he was homeless for a time after migrating from Michigan to Texas during the late 1970s.

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Associate Editor Bill Kauffman spoke separately with each member in his or her Capitol Hill office; their responses are interwoven.

TAE: Has life in the House of Representatives been pretty much what you expected?

STOCKMAN: It's more work than what I anticipated. You know, after reading all the articles about how everybody is lazy and they don't do anything but ride around in limos all day. I walk to work and eat beef jerky at my desk and work over 12 hours a day.

McINTOSH: The amount of personality that goes into the process was more than I anticipated, although I'm not really surprised because I saw the same thing in the executive branch. Institutions are filled with people and people are human.

GRASSROOTS POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS LIKE MICE WORKING UNDER THE LEAVES. YOU KNOW THERE IS A LOT GOING ON, BUT YOU HAVE NO IDEA HOW MUCH UNTIL THE WINDS OF THE ELECTION BLOW.

—HELEN CHENOWETH

TAE: Do you have time to read and write and think or is it all just a blur of activity as you are pushed from point A to point B?

McINTOSH: It's a fairly short time horizon: maybe two months if you really work hard at it.

TAE: Are there any veteran House members you've patterned yourself after or who you look to for guidance?

BONO: If you came up to me with a song you wanted to write and I heard a portion of it, I could say forget it and know I'm totally right just because I've been doing that for 30 years, you know? The same thing happens here. All the freshmen come in with these high ideals and ask, "Well, what about this?" And a veteran will be able to say, "Yeah, forget that, it won't happen." So I bounce things off Chris Cox or Henry Hyde or Bill Archer when I need advice.

TAE: You've gone from football, a profession whose practitioners are worshipped by adoring fans, to the Congress, which is detested by the public. Does the change bother you?

LARGENT: I think the value of my football cards has gone down since I was elected to Congress. I've moved from being famous to infamous.

TAE: You work in a body still dominated by lawyers. Is your background in any way disabling?

LARGENT: I think those people who are attorneys are more impaired than I am as a football player. We need more nonprofessional politicians and fewer attorneys in Congress.

TAE: You want more Sonny Bonos and fewer Henry Waxmans?

LARGENT: Well, we need people who have experienced what it is like to live under the current tax code as an employer, as an employee, people who have experienced what it is like to live under the regulatory burden that we put on businesses.

HAYWORTH: You know, our Founders named this place the House of Representatives, not the house of former state legislators, or the house of career politicians, or the house of lawyers.

TAE: You also played college football?

HAYWORTH: I was recruited at right tackle and ended up as left out—it's a terrible tale of woe that I won't get into now. But the sporting vernacular has always been a part of politics. In their early days in the House, Dick Nixon and Gerry Ford used it to great effect in the Chowder and Marching Society. Dwight Eisenhower played football. More importantly, he was the head freshman football coach at West Point. I think he learned the techniques of leadership on the gridiron.

TAE: Who, so far, is your favorite House Democrat?

BONO: Barney Frank. He's a tough guy and he's very smart. He's got good humor and he enjoys a good beef. He can become a straight man and know he's a straight man.

TAE: He'd have succeeded in show business, wouldn't he?

BONO: Yes. He's a very savvy guy. Nothing is personal with Barney. And that's another thing that I learned here that I admire, that people fight vehemently but do not take it personally. Barney is one of the best at that. I've seen Barney respond to negative connotations about his sexuality and he handles it beautifully. "Oh, that's all right; it's stupid but that's all right." It just doesn't bother him.

CHENOWETH: I have a great deal of respect for Marcy Kaptur and Jim Traficant.

TAE: Traficant's a great flamboyant populist. Are you a populist?

CHENOWETH: Yes. I am.

TAE: How does that distinguish you from a conservative?

CHENOWETH: Twenty years ago a Republican would not use conservative and populist in the same sentence, but I think there's been a new dawning. The party that once found itself separated from middle-income people realized we needed to fight for middle America.

TAE: Although on issues that divide Wall Street and Main Street—NAFTA, GATT, the Mexican bailout—the Republicans always side with Wall Street, don't they?

CHENOWETH: There's a different dynamic starting to build, and instead of talking about Wall Street and Main Street, what I'm seeing is a new division between the cowboys and the city slickers. We can almost divide it at the 100th meridian.

TAE: Are there any parts of this job that you find tedious?

CHENOWETH: What I find tedious is understanding the rules in committee and the rules on the floor and in markup. I know that it will come, probably next term. I studied Robert's Rules of Order, thinking it might be somewhat like the House rules. Wrong.

HAYWORTH: The travel is the tougher part of it. I wish I could walk into the *Star Trek* transporter and be home.

STOCKMAN: I can't talk long about it because I start choking up, but my wife is not here. She works at NASA and I only get to see her on weekends. The family strains are way beyond what I anticipated. I thought I was more stoic than I am. I miss her. She's my best friend.

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WE NEED MORE PEOPLE IN CONGRESS WHO HAVE LIVED UNDER THE CURRENT TAX CODE AS EMPLOYERS, PEOPLE WHO HAVE EXPERIENCED THE GOVERNMENT REGULATORY BURDEN.

—STEVE LARGENT

TAE: Spending most of your waking hours on Capitol Hill, up to your ears in staffers and lobbyists and issue papers, isn't it inevitable that at some point you'll become part of the congressional culture and a year or two down the road you'll be defending congressional pay raises and scheming to get into the Rayburn Building?

LARGENT: Absolutely, it is inevitable. I don't think anybody can stand up under the pressure if you stay here too long. That's why I'm a huge advocate for term limits and I've already enacted self-imposed term limits because I know it will happen to me as well if I stay here too long.

CHENOWETH: I imposed term limits on myself. Because it is inevitable. It does happen to the very best of people who come up here with the very best of intentions. You start sniffing that marble dust and too much of it goes to your head.

HAYWORTH: If you take architecture as representative of political movements, the Rayburn Building is a classic piece of the Great Society. I can almost see LBJ saying, "Let me build a grand edifice to my friend, Mr. Sam. It will be filled with grandeur, with plenty of dead-end hallways so people have to spend the bulk of their time trying to figure out how to go from one office to the next." It is a perfect model of grand inefficiency. And to that extent, I don't really see myself becoming a creature of the Beltway. I don't look at making the House a home.

STOCKMAN: The pay raise, the perks, the pensions: we pretty much stripped bare the walls and now we're talking about eliminating PACs and everything. I think those are peripheral things that Common Cause uses to raise funds or the *Washington Post* uses to sell newspapers. We can get rid of all of that stuff and we could still bankrupt this country. We need to balance our budget, and I see all this so-called congressional reform as a distraction in some ways. I mean, we did a lot the first day. We applied every law that's applicable to society to ourselves. We took away our pensions and they're still crying for more. I don't think until we slit our veins that they're going to be happy.

TAE: You defeated House-lifer Jack Brooks, who outspent you ten to one. Now are you going to raise hundreds of thousands from PACs and outspend your opponent ten to one in 1996?

STOCKMAN: I'll try to crush my opponent by any means. I never came down on Brooks for raising huge sums of money. We beat him with issues. And if someone beats me on issues, that's fine. I have never been a very active fundraiser but I'm trying to improve. In my campaign we took in $100,000 or a little over that—our FEC reports reflect more than that because after November 8th everybody caught the vision that I could win, so we got a lot of checks in the mail after the election.

TAE: In the 1970s, you were part of the exodus from the Rust Belt to the Sun Belt. You even lived out of your car for a while. Do you think the Republican Party is sympathetic to the plight of economically dispossessed Americans?

STOCKMAN: I didn't even have a car at one point. In the summer of '80 I was living in the Ft. Worth Water Gardens. I didn't go to the government for help when I was homeless. I collected cans to earn money to eat. Hunger was a tremendous incentive to get up and work. And in the long run, it taught me the work ethic. I ended up going from a person who didn't like to work to now being called a workaholic, because I have that fear or understanding of what it's like to go hungry. I was 110 pounds and now I'm up to 208. So I caught up a lot.

TAE: To what extent do the House Republican freshmen regard themselves as a cohesive "us" against a "them" that includes the Republican establishment?

BONO: There's different degrees. Some freshmen are extremely assertive and determined to be reformers to the point where, from my point of view, sometimes it lacks wisdom. If you're too anxious to appear that you are a maverick you lose what your goal is.

LARGENT: I think that we see ourselves as comrades in arms. Not many of us have ever been in politics before and certainly none of us has served in Congress. And so we all have, at one time or another, that deer in the headlights expression. You feel like you're saying, "What the—" all the time.

McINTOSH: At Newt's urging, and I think correctly so, we try to view ourselves as part of a larger team, not only in the House but also with the Senate Republicans. But there is a real consciousness that the freshmen are new blood and have a different perspective.

TAE: Do you think that grates on some of the older members, this sense that these are self-righteous newcomers?

McINTOSH: It could. We've been fortunate that the older members have consciously welcomed the freshmen. In part, because they were rabble rousers in the minority and now we are rabble rousers with them in most cases.

HAYWORTH: We say, "Here's what our constituents said to us. This is what they want to see done." Yes, we do look at ourselves as a cohesive unit. Not as fair-haired children, or anything like that, but we believe we bring to the table the most accurate snapshot of the mood of the American electorate.

TAE: But there must be frustration in dealing with some of the old bulls of your party?

HAYWORTH: I think you'd be very surprised. The Speaker and the entire leadership team in the Republican party have an incredible quality for leaders: they listen. We were brought in here not to be wallflowers, not to follow the Rayburn maxim of go along to get along.

CHENOWETH: Just think about having to be Newt Gingrich or Dick Armey or Tom DeLay, having to deal with these people who have the egos to get into a congressional race and win. It's like herding turkeys. There's no way you can do it.

TAE: There was talk the party establishment would be running a primary candidate against you.

CHENOWETH: I don't think it will happen, although it doesn't worry me. I came up against two very tough opponents in

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the last election and beat them both by more than their combined votes. All the polls had written me off as coming in third or fourth in that race and they were astounded when I came in first. The phenomenon is not a reflection of Helen Chenoweth. It's a grass-roots movement in our country today that the typical poll sampling techniques that Louis Harris uses cannot pick up. It's like mice working under the leaves. You know there is a lot of activity going on there, but you have no idea how much until the winds of the election blow and you see these mice have been busy all over the district.

I DIDN'T GO TO THE GOVERNMENT FOR HELP WHEN I WAS HOMELESS. I COLLECTED CANS TO EARN MONEY TO EAT.

—STEVE STOCKMAN

TAE: Unlike most of the freshmen you were something of a Beltway veteran when elected. Did you view your new compatriots as in any way naive?

McINTOSH: No. I was enormously impressed by my fellow freshmen. I'll tell you my favorite theory on what happened in the '94 election. The primaries, I think, were the key elections. People won the Republican primaries who weren't your typical politicians. Some of them knew less about the rules and the process but were incredibly bright, and process you can pick up relatively quickly.

TAE: Ross Perot, Jerry Brown and others have said that what we really have is a one-party system, a cozy alliance of Republican and Democratic insiders who view the American people as the enemy. Is there any truth to that?

BONO: Ross came and spoke to us and I could tell he was disappointed, because when he speaks to his group, he gets adulation. When he spoke to the freshmen he got none because I think we have a better understanding. Take his favorite criticism of lobbying. Lobbyists are a great educational tool. There's no way we can understand in-depth all the issues. You get a lobbyist in banking, for instance: incredibly complicated, they know the details to the nth degree. So there's a tremendous educational process there. And I've never had a banking lobbyist say, "You owe this to us." The net effect of lobbying really depends on the ethics of the representative.

CHENOWETH: You asked me if there was *any* truth to it. Yes. The insiders in both parties were used to manipulating. The industry of lawmaking and rulemaking in Washington, D.C. warred against the productive sector outside of Washington. And the part of the productive sector that has been hit so hard has been the people who are closest to the earth. It's people who retrieve original wealth out of the earth. People who mine, mill, and harvest.

HAYWORTH: There are critics who say that if the other party says black, you should say white. Political polarity is constantly decried, yet when there is cooperation that's viewed as something unhealthy.

LARGENT: I think anybody, regardless of what party you're in, once you've been inside the Beltway for too long, you do lose perspective. And that's not just campaign sloganeering from an outsider trying to defeat an insider. I really believe that is true. The cynicism and apathy towards politics and the lack of faith in this body are at an all-time high. If we in the new Congress do nothing more than simply keep the promises that we made, we can restore some of the confidence of people in this body.

TAE: In your autobiography, you write of feeling inadequate when you were around music legends like Phil Specter or Brian Wilson. Do you ever feel inadequate in Congress?

BONO: No. I'm very comfortable here. I think there's an attitude in Congress now going all the way up to Newt that you don't need the qualities that people thought were needed in the past. There's an acceptance that the man in the street can be as effective as the most brilliant lawyer. This is the first time I don't feel there's something I want to avoid talking about.

TAE: Which entertainment personality does Newt Gingrich remind you of?

BONO: Newt reminds me of—this is going to sound weird—John Waters. John Waters called me on the phone and said, "I want you in a movie." And I said, "Well, wait a minute, I'm running for mayor and you are a bit strong." And I read the script and he said, what you see is what you're going to get. So I took him at his word and it was a sweet little story, *Hairspray.* What impressed me about John was that he knew every frame of that script. He had it memorized. And I get exactly the same feeling from Newt. I think he is at a point in his life now where he's memorized every single line of his script and is that tight on it. So he very much operates the same way John did when he was making the movie. Newt just knows everything he wants to do. It's all there already.

TAE: If three or four years down the road nothing has really changed and the new Republican majority is doing the same things as the old Democratic majority, do you see any chance that you could become a member of a Perot-like party?

CHENOWETH: I think that what we will see is a political system develop much like France has. I think Ross Perot's Independence Party is just the first. We may see another conservative party, a liberty party, or whatever. But I am pretty well founded in the Republican Party.

TAE: You have said of Washington's relationship with the western states, "They treat us like a colony." Do you see any prospect, if this doesn't change, of a secessionist movement arising in the west?

CHENOWETH: It must change. West of the 100th meridian, the people are what America was 100 years ago. Easterners dream of preserving it, but in the process they're driving our people off the land. The west was not settled by wimps and faint-hearted individuals. And they're not going to give up the West that easily.

TAE: The Republicans rode in promising the elimination of all sorts of programs, from the NEA to four or more cabinet departments and yet as the dust clears these bureaucratic edifices are left standing. What went wrong?

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I'VE BECOME CONVINCED THAT TERM LIMITS ARE MUCH MORE IMPORTANT THAN I THOUGHT WHEN I WAS OUTSIDE OF CONGRESS

—DAVID McINTOSH

HAYWORTH: We came in with a very ambitious agenda and I think it is important to note that it is a work in progress. It is very difficult, in ten months, to reverse the course of 40 years of big government.

TAE: But the momentum dissipates after the first year, doesn't it, as in 1981?

HAYWORTH: No. The one variable which has changed is majority status in the House. And that's where the changes will take place.

LARGENT: Over 50 percent of the people think that Congress has not gone far enough in terms of making budget changes. And I agree.

McINTOSH: I would say we're on track. We're not moving as fast as I would like or a lot of the freshmen class would like. We, as a class, endorse eliminating four departments. If we do one a year, that's a pretty good track record. The NEA and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, I wish we had eliminated immediately. But we have to get 218 votes.

STOCKMAN: We have a party majority, which is not to say we have a philosophical majority. One of the most depressing votes to me, though probably the most minor vote, was to cut the NEA by 10 percent. I came out of there very blue. In our Republican caucus, 40 people believe that big government is the solution to our problems. So until that changes…

TAE: You are a founder of the House Constitutional Caucus, which seeks to reduce the federal government to its constitutionally prescribed role. Doesn't this run counter to the interests of every important group in Washington? Can real devolution ever be achieved when the entire power structure is against it?

HAYWORTH: I think we're seeing fledgling moves towards the devolution of power right now—the first attempts to remember that the states have a purpose, and that the federal system calls on the states to have responsibilities as prescribed in the Tenth Amendment. There is a collective mentality that seems to take the Constitution and put it in the National Archives as an intellectual and historical curiosity that has no effect on what happens now.

TAE: But it's virtually a dead letter, isn't it? Presidents go to war without the vote of Congress and anyone who speaks of the Second or Tenth Amendment is regarded as a kook.

HAYWORTH: Boy, that's a tough description, a dead letter. That just hangs in the air. And I must object with every fiber of my being to that notion, because if we ever end up a society that regards the Constitution of the United States as a dead letter, then we have a morally bankrupt system of governance.

TAE: Have you changed your mind about anything since you've been here?

LARGENT: I think that we spend too much on defense. It's overkill when we spend $270 billion a year on defense and the next five nations in the world don't spend that added together.

McINTOSH: Not changed but reinforced in a way that I didn't anticipate. And that was on term limits. I was in favor of them in the campaign and I've become convinced that they're much more important than I thought when I was outside of Congress. And the reason is what you mentioned: you can become part of the system in Washington. I notice that happening to some of my good conservative colleagues who are sophomores and juniors, and I think term limits would help break that cycle.

TAE: Are you supporting a candidate for the Presidential nomination yet?

BONO: Dole.

CHENOWETH: Phil Gramm.

HAYWORTH: Phil Gramm.

LARGENT: No.

McINTOSH: Dick Lugar.

STOCKMAN: Well, I'm from Texas so along with my caucus we have joined in support of our senior Senator.

TAE: That sounds like a very unenthusiastic endorsement.

STOCKMAN: [silence]

TAE: Do you intend to limit your own term of office?

STOCKMAN: Yes. After 40 years I'm out of here. No, actually, after the first 90 days I was ready for term limits because we were getting home at 1:30, 2:30 in the morning, we didn't have computers, we had phones that were ringing.

HAYWORTH: I voted for term limits. I'm just not arrogant enough to say to the electorate, "Well, I'll stay this long" because that presumes that people are always going to send you back.

TAE: If you are defeated for reelection will you return home or stay on in D.C.?

CHENOWETH: Oh, no question, I would go to Idaho.

HAYWORTH: Absolutely, I will live at home.

LARGENT: I'm in a no-lose situation. If I lose the election, my family wins. If I win the election I will continue to do what I was sent here to do. This is not a job I have to have—and that puts me in a great position to serve and do the right thing.

STOCKMAN: I don't live in Washington now. I know it's going to sound strange, but my main purpose really was to defeat Jack Brooks. I just thought he was a real abomination, and in the process I got this job. I mean if I had quit the day of the election I feel like I would have done a great service to the country.

TAE: One last question. In your autobiography, you said that your former wife, Cher, thought that the faces on Mount Rushmore had been carved naturally.

BONO: Yes, that's true. When I met Cher she was 16, and Cher can be this pillar of wisdom or this incredibly naive person. Cher had decided that Mount Rushmore was a natural phenomenon. And I said if that is true, then I'm going to become a monk.

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Third Parties & The

Third Party Candidates Face a High Hurdle in the Electoral College

by Walter Berns

In the century and a half since the emergence of our current two-party system the United States has avoided any crisis in selecting a new president and vice-president—in part because the electoral college amplifies the margin of victory in the popular vote. This amplification gives us a clear winner even when the popular vote is close enough to be called a "photo-finish." John Kennedy, for example, won only one-third of a percent more popular votes than Richard Nixon in 1960, but collected 38 percent more electoral votes. Bill Clinton, who garnered just 43 percent of the popular vote in 1992's three-way race, captured nearly 70 percent of the electoral college.

It is always possible that a third-party candidate, by taking a state or two, may prevent either of the major party candidates from winning an electoral college majority, but this has not happened in the last 170 years. In such an event, the Constitution specifies that the election is thrown into the House of Representatives. It is quite likely, however, that in the weeks between the election and the gathering of the electoral college, the third-party candidate would entertain "bids" for his electors from one of the leaders—in return for policy or personnel concessions.

This was the express purpose in 1968 of George Wallace, who hoped to become kingmaker to either Richard Nixon or Hubert Humphrey. Deadlocking the vote in the electoral college will always be a ticklish undertaking, however. A third party not only must capture some states, but must be careful elsewhere not to draw votes from only one of the two major candidates, thus giving the other a landslide.

Wallace's campaign turned out to be the most successful third-party bid in over 50 years. Yet while Nixon and Humphrey each received only 43 percent of the vote (Nixon just over and Humphrey just under), Nixon nonetheless picked up a decisive 56 percent of the electoral vote.

This occurred because the voting procedure of the electoral college deflates the strength of minor parties and inflates the margin of the winning party. By state law, all electoral votes (except Maine's and Nebraska's) are awarded on a winner-take-all basis to the candidate who captures the most votes within that state. To have any electoral effect, then, a party must win outright within states. Regional third-party challenges generally fare better under this system. Southern favorite Wallace actually captured 46 electoral votes. Yet the electoral college still deflated his challenge. Although he had received nearly 14 percent of the popular vote, he got only eight percent of the electoral vote. Some 4.1 million Wallace votes cast outside the states he carried were "wasted."

A third party with an even national appeal but lacking plurality support within any state will be stymied by the electoral college. Millard Fillmore and the Know-Nothings won 21 percent of the popular vote in 1856, but received only 2 percent of the electoral vote. Republican William Howard Taft was the choice of 23 percent of the voters in 1912, but of less than 2 percent of the electoral college. That same year, Theodore Roosevelt mounted the biggest third-party challenge of the twentieth century, taking 28 percent of the popular vote, yet he ended up with just 17 percent of the electoral vote. Most recently, we had Ross Perot's 1992 campaign, when he won nearly 20 percent of the popular vote but didn't earn a single electoral vote.

The fear of vote-wasting is the main psychological burden imposed by the electoral college's deflation of third-party efforts. As election day approaches, third-party candidates often see their support fade, because voters don't want to squander their ballot on someone who won't win. This happened to both Wallace and Perot.

Despite the failures of Theodore Roosevelt, George Wallace, Ross Perot, and others, it is always possible that a third-party candidate may prevent either of the major party candidates from winning the electoral college majority required by the Constitution. Recent changes in the law make this easier. Court decisions have made ballot access for third-party candidates simpler, and the Federal Election Campaign Act ensures public funding, in advance of an election, for any minor party that received at least 5 percent of the vote in the previous presidential race.

If ever someone mounts a third-party campaign that prevents an electoral college victory by one of the major parties, a little-known set of constitutional, statutory, and parliamentary rules governing the choice of a president and vice president would kick in: The newly sworn-in members of the House of Representatives, with one vote per state delegation, would choose the president from among the top three vote-getters in the electoral college. Support of at least 26 state delegations is required for a president to be selected. Simultaneously, the newly sworn-in members of the Senate would vote individually for vice presi-

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Presidential Race

dent, choosing among the top two vote-getters in the electoral college, with 51 votes required for victory.

These mechanisms would produce a president and a vice president with unchallengeable constitutional claims to those offices. In a world where government succession is often bent to the dictates of force, the importance of this cannot be exaggerated.

Walter Berns is a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute and editor of After the People Vote: A Guide to the Electoral College *(AEI Press, 1992), from which parts of this were adapted.*

Third Party Candidates Won't Necessarily Bring Reform

by Gordon S. Black

Periodically in American politics an election takes on unusual significance. The 1936 race between Franklin Roosevelt and Alf Landon was such an election. The issues fought out then—passive vs. activist government, free markets vs. government redistribution—defined for the future what it meant to be a Republican or a Democrat. Enduring party loyalties were forged on that battlefield.

These turning-point elections generally center around issues rather than personalities. They grow out of problems that have festered for a long time, frustrating large numbers of Americans. And they involve clashes between contestants who promise to take the country in distinctly different directions.

The 1996 campaign has the potential to become precisely this kind of election. The broadest question at issue is whether elected officials will be permitted to continue the three-decades-long process of pillaging public treasuries in order to extend their own period in office. Will Americans permit incumbents of both parties to mortgage our future to pay off the interests that finance their elections?

In addition to the candidates offered for president at this critical juncture by the two major parties, there are third party possibilities. Jesse Jackson, Bill Bradley, Pat Buchanan, and others could yet run as independents. Ross Perot claims he is not especially interested in running for president this time. Colin Powell has said he doesn't feel the fervor to campaign as either a Republican or an independent.

The media presented Colin Powell as a "perfect" candidate, but he is someone with a weak understanding of the unhappiness of contemporary Americans. There is a real rebellion welling up in American politics, and Powell has so far operated as if he is totally oblivious to this fact. He looks and sounds like a leader, but he doesn't have anything to say about the issues over which Americans are in revolt.

In Ross Perot, on the other hand, we have an imperfect candidate with a shrewd understanding of the discontent in American politics. The national establishment dislikes Perot every bit as much as they love Powell, but Perot says what the discontented middle wants to hear. Now he faces the decision of whether to run at the top of the new political party whose state-by-state founding he has committed himself to funding.

One thing Perot's move to create a national party for independents has done is to virtually preclude a Powell run at the head of a third party. Unless Powell is prepared to do business with Perot, which seems unlikely, there is probably no room for him as an independent. (For that matter, I doubt he could have won the primary nomination of the Republican party this year.) The most likely option for Colin Powell is to run as vice-president.

I believe, however, that Perot is the third player who will shape much of the content of the 1996 race, as he did in 1992. If he wants the issues about which he cares presented to the American public, I think Perot has no choice but to run. When he does, he will attack the two parties for their persistent failures over the past generation. His themes—breaking the hold of lobbyists on Washington, restoring choice to elections, ending budget deficits, reducing mandates and unfunded liabilities—resonate with Americans. Perot will spend liberally to get these messages across.

The problem for Perot is that voters like much of the message but not necessarily the messenger. Perot doesn't seem much to care about this, but he should. Voters who dislike Perot will not tune in to his television presentations, regardless of the content. He doesn't have the curiosity factor going for him that he did in 1992. Moreover, Americans intuitively understand that governing is a collective enterprise, and they will rebel against the idea of Perot in the White House unless he broadens the visible leadership within his campaign.

The more successful Perot is, the more likely it is that the election will be defined by reform issues—whereas a run by Colin Powell would have focused the election away from issues onto personalities. Powell probably doesn't think of himself as the enemy of reform, but his general popularity coupled with his insulation from the discontent in America make him just that. Electing Colin Powell would have enormously set back reform in Washington. At least Clinton and Dole and today's other candidates have the public sensitivity to acknowledge that Americans are massively discontented.

Gordon Black, who does polling for Ross Perot, is co-founder of New York state's Independence Party.

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Social Issues Will Elect Our Next President—and Clinton Knows It

by Ben J. Wattenberg

Until the Republican sweep in 1994, many analysts looking ahead to the 1996 election said, "it all depends on the economy. If it's doing well Clinton wins. If it's bad he loses." With the earthquake election of 1994, the ranks of economic determinists diminished. Six weeks before the balloting, NBC/*Wall Street Journal* pollsters asked Americans whether they believe the problems facing America are mainly the result of financial pressures or of a decline in moral values. Moral decline won by 20 percentage points. A *Newsweek* poll taken 11 days before the election asked who or what was to blame for the nation's problems. In first place by a big margin was the answer "The moral decline of people in general." A *Washington Post*/ABC poll taken in early September of 1994 showed that 68 percent of the public regarded "social issues" as "the most important problem"; only 13 percent said "economic issues."

Political scientist Everett Carll Ladd notes that with the Great Depression, economics became the largest voting issue for a generation. But this, Ladd stresses, was not the norm in American history. Columnist Michael Barone likewise writes in *Our Country* that "the major struggles in American politics in the two decades before 1930 were not over issues that split the nation on economic lines, but over non-economic cultural issues." Barone cites four such non-economic flashpoints: race relations, Prohibition, immigration, and the argument over American participation in World War I. The famous "re-aligning" election of 1896 was won by William McKinley, who drubbed William Jennings Bryan partly on economic questions (as in the "cross of gold") but also on cultural and religious questions. Going back to the 1824 realignment, Andrew Jackson did not win just on economic policy, but on regional and cultural issues as well. Frontier values beat the Eastern establishment.

Back in 1970 Richard Scammon and I wrote that, as voting influences, social issues had become *co-equal* with economic issues. That was regarded (by a generation that had matured during the Depression and post-war years) as something unusual, even distasteful. Raising issues of crime and race, for example, was said to be "demagogic." The only "real" issues were tax rates, working conditions, Social Security, and so forth, often along with foreign policy. Social issues were swept under the rug, trivialized, or demonized—pushing us toward the fix we are now in.

Times have changed. Today, social issues—like crime, welfare, education discipline, and preference—have moved from *co-equality* to *primacy*. In the 1990s, values matter most.

Recently, I was surprised to get a call from President Clinton. He told me that, thinking through the current political situation, he had come up with the phrase, "Values matter most." Accordingly, he was astonished to receive my book with that very title. In an hour-long chat we discussed the current political situation. He praised my new book, which surprised me, because it criticizes Clinton and liberal Democrats who linked the party to softness on social issues, leading to political defeats in 1994.

In the book, I argue that Clinton has followed a political "Z" pattern. In 1992 he pulled his party from the left toward the center by stressing social issues, "personal responsibility," and "no more something for nothing." Once elected, Clinton and a liberal Democratic Congress swung back toward the left. The Republicans exploited this turn in 1994 and are now legislating toward the center-right. And Clinton is reverting again—trying to recapture the New Democrat flag. Left, right, left, right—the zigzag politics of Zorro.

Clinton's 1993-4 zig to the left disillusioned Democrats of my stripe. Clinton said he understood. Though noting several times that he didn't agree with everything in the book, he said the argument "helped him gain perspective," and was "the most honest criticism of the administration."

He said that in 1993 and 1994 he was too interested in the "legislative scorecard rather than in philosophy" and that he "lost the language" that had shaped him as a New Democrat concentrating on values. After the 1994 election, he realized he had created "a cardboard cutout" of himself. I said I thought his welfare bill was soft and weak, and that I had not been pleased with it. He agreed: "I wasn't pleased with it either." He said he had "let Democrats down" by not stressing values.

In the past, Clinton has complained about unfavorable media portrayals. Now he seems to say much of that portrayal was accurate and his own fault. But he intends to recapture the New Democrat ideology. How? In our late October conversation he said he was hopeful that the House-Senate conference will present him with a welfare bill that is tough but not harsh, and that he can sign it. He hopes he and the Democrats will be able to compromise with the Republicans on an "honorable budget." That, he believes, will show that he and the Democrats are now, really, New Democrats.

This "Z" is stunning politics. When excerpts of our on-the-record conversation were published in my newspaper column, the president's words elicited a media firestorm. The Democratic Left was alienated. The media raised fresh problems for him concerning "waffling," "flip-flopping," and credibility. But, I think, Clinton's comments represent the right path for the country. It's also the only way he can hope to win. And it will be extremely difficult for him to implement in a lefter-than-ever Democratic party.

Ben Wattenberg is a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute. This essay draws on his book, Values Matter Most, *and a recent conversation with the president.*

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Fanaticism of the Moderates—The Republicans and Abortion

by Hadley Arkes

My friend had been a close adviser to George Bush, and he pressed on me now this earnest question: The vexing issue of abortion could not be made to go away, but wasn't there some way of removing it from the center of politics so that the party would not be split by it? The strain most vivid to him was that found in the circle of corporate executives in New York, the traditional Republicans who gathered in clubs and retained a venerable prejudice in favor of smaller government and lower taxes. To put it gently, these Republicans have not settled in easily with the people who bring a religious fervor to the "moral" issues of politics, especially the matter of abortion, even though these new recruits have brought the party to the threshold of becoming the majority party.

And so my friend put this proposal: Could we not simply agree to get this issue out of the federal government and our national politics? He was taken aback when I said, "Yes, a deal of that kind might be possible—if you mean the federal courts as well." Would they not be covered in a formula to take the issue out of the "federal" government? After all, the federal courts brought the federal government into this issue in the first place, in *Roe v. Wade,* when they created a "right to abortion" under the federal Constitution. With that move, the courts indirectly nationalized abortion in the United States. All laws on the subject, at all levels of government, were now subject to review by the federal judiciary, where they were all, in effect, overridden and rewritten. To talk now about removing the issue from the federal government, but saying nothing about the federal courts—well, as the old joke used to go, that was like playing Hamlet without the first gravedigger.

By "removing the federal government from abortion," the old conservatives usually mean removing those parts of the federal government that have an interest in scaling down the right to an abortion and extending the protections of the law to the unborn child. There used to be, even among pro-lifers, a willingness to settle the issue politically by returning the problem of abortion to the legislatures in the separate states. But that strategy has now been stymied by events, and rendered, at best, a charade, and at worst, a dishonest hoax. For over the past 20 years, the corps of judges in the states has absorbed the same understandings of the Constitution and the same activist temper that has taken hold among the federal judges. Many of these judges are convinced that *Roe v. Wade* is indeed part of the logic of the present Constitution, and that it would override the charters and laws of their own states. And in other instances, the judges are prepared now to find, in the constitutions of their states, the same principles of "privacy" that brought forth the "right to an abortion." When candidates like Lamar Alexander propose then to return the question of abortion to the states and to the people, they would really be returning the matter to neither. They are simply offering a formula for delivering this matter into the hands of local judges who will take the issue away from legislatures and voters.

The sober political fact is that there really is no alternative to that celebrated, controversial plank of the Republican platform, the provision for a constitutional amendment on abortion. That amendment will eventually be needed, if for no other reason than to put beyond the reach of local judges the power of the states to protect unborn children. Still, I have been among those who have thought it a mistake for the party to place an *exclusive* reliance on this one proposal. It has been far too easy for Republican politicians to endorse a constitutional amendment—a proposal they knew had no near-term chance of passing—and then say nothing else about abortion in the balance of their campaigns. And so, I have been identified for a long while with the plan to offer a series of modest "first steps," which could plant some points in principle, and provide a focus of discussion. They could also help restore speech to a mute political class, which seems at a loss in framing this question and talking about it in public.

Over the last several years the pro-life movement has shown a willingness to accept modest measures that fall notably short of any sweeping, constitutional amendment. In this temper, they find support, and the grounds of hope, in surveys of the public. Even most people who describe themselves as pro-choice are not willing to accept a policy of abortion performed "on demand," for just any reason, at any stage of the pregnancy. Most people are against abortions performed in the third trimester, those performed for the sake of convenience, those that aim to reduce financial strain in the family. They simply do not consider these reasons as sufficiently compelling to justify the taking of a life.

In short, even people who are pro-choice find many abortions they would reject—and restrict. But surveys also reveal that only one person in ten understands that *Roe v. Wade* has in fact installed a regime of abortion on demand for any reason, at any stage of the pregnancy. Hence the suggestion that the Republicans begin with the most modest steps, which should command wide support. There has been a willingness to begin with restrictions on late-pregnancy abortions, but more recently, measures of even more staggering moderation have been offered: Some of us have proposed simply to protect the life of any child who survives an abortion. In one notable federal case, a child was born alive during an abortion and survived for 20 days. The question had been put: Was there an obligation to preserve his life? The answer, tendered by the federal court in *Floyd v. Anders,* was that under the premises of *Roe v. Wade* the child had no standing to receive protections of the law.

There would be no need to argue here over the beginning of human life. One would simply articulate a premise that should

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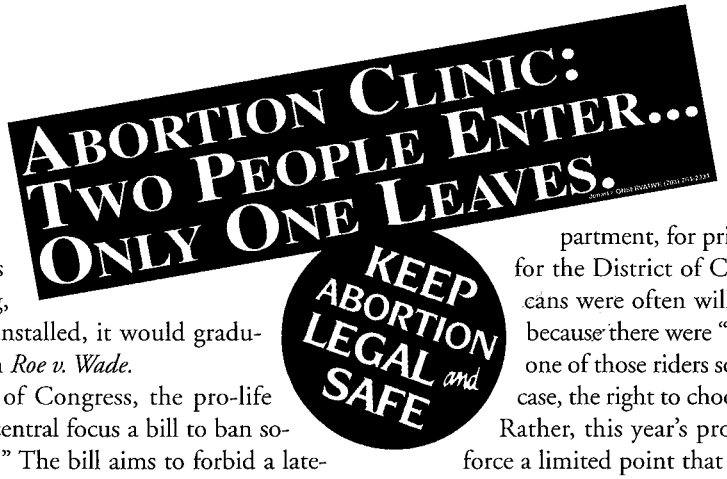

cause no upheaval among people of moderation: namely, that the right of a child to legal protections should not pivot on the question of whether anyone wants her. That is, by any reckoning, a modest premise. Yet, once installed, it would gradually unravel the law built upon *Roe v. Wade.*

In the current session of Congress, the pro-life members have taken as their central focus a bill to ban so-called "partial-birth abortions." The bill aims to forbid a late-pregnancy procedure of uncommon ghoulishness: With the legs and torso of the child removed from the womb, the surgeon punctures the head and then suctions out the brains, so that the dead child can be removed "intact" from the birth canal. There are a few hundred of these abortions performed every year, not a large portion of the 1.3 to 1.5 million abortions carried out annually in this country. But this small step in legislation carries a momentous point: It would mark the first time in which Congress voted to ban a method of abortion out of a recognition of the harm inflicted on the child. For the first time, the child is recognized as a victim, and as the bearer of certain rights.

For that reason, and that reason alone, this modest measure has stirred the most extravagant opposition among the members of Congress described as pro-choice. They have detached themselves from any natural sympathies for the child, and profess to see only the interests of the pregnant woman. This unwillingness to see what is plainly before them is itself a sign of the inversion that has taken place in our public language on this matter. In surveys of opinion, about 60 per cent of the public are opposed to about 90 per cent of the abortions that are permitted under our current laws. But most people are serenely unaware that these surgeries they find abhorrent are actually permitted. Yet in the reports on National Public Radio and in the *New York Times,* the politicians who defend abortion on demand—the people who are not willing to restrict or forbid a single one of the million-and-a-half abortions performed each year—are referred to as "moderates." In all strictness, they should be labeled as "zealots." Only about 18 per cent of the public share their judgment, and yet, remarkably, they are never called "extremists." That brand seems to be reserved for the members of Congress who are seeking to restrict a handful of abortions.

This inversion of language has its uses, and one striking effect is that it has screened from public notice a bizarre pattern that has emerged in this first year of the Republican Congress. In a series of critical votes, the so-called Republican "moderates" have been willing to break the cohesion of the party and vote against measures that reflect the traditional conservatism of the party: scaling down the government, returning more powers to the states, and cutting taxes. In major appropriations bill, for example, a bloc of "moderates" led by Rep. Greg Ganske (R-Iowa) resisted an amendment that sought to prevent students and schools from being forced by the government to participate in abortions as part of medical education. Rep. Jim Kolbe (R-Ariz.) led another fight against the Istook Amendment to the same bill, which sought to return to the states the freedom to reach their own judgments on the funding of abortion in cases of rape and incest. The same kinds of clashes occurred in appropriations for the military and the State Department, for prisons and federal medical plans, and for the District of Columbia. The pro-choice Republicans were often willing to vote against these measures because there were "riders" on abortion. But not a single one of those riders sought to deny to any woman, in any case, the right to choose an abortion.

Rather, this year's pro-life amendments sought to reinforce a limited point that is still consistent with the holdings of the courts: Abortion may be a "private choice," but it is not necessarily a "public good" that deserves to be sustained with government funds. For those funds are drawn, through the compulsion of taxes, from citizens who may regard abortion as morally abhorrent. If the moderates had really been "pragmatic" politicians, there should have been no cause for alarm, for these were mainly symbolic issues that touched nothing in the substance of abortion. And yet, the Republican moderates broke ranks with their party precisely because there seemed to be an issue purely of principle: They were moved to opposition because they devoutly wished to resist any suggestion in our laws that abortion is a fit object of moral reproach, or that abortion is anything less than legitimate and desirable.

When a faction persistently votes against the main program of its party, when it is willing to hold up everything else in order to make certain symbolic defenses, the label would seem obvious: We would be in the presence of a "single-issue" group, so contracted in its concerns, so adamant in its position, that it might even be called "fanatic." In contrast to this pro-choice fanaticism, the pro-lifers agreed from the outset that they would put aside any agenda of their own during the first hundred days of the Congress. And even beyond, the pro-lifers have been willing to subordinate their own concerns to the more prominent goals of the party. When they have balked, they have been subjected to reproaches and pressure from the leadership. But there seems to be no comparable reproach for the other side. The complaint has never yet been sounded by the Republican leadership that the "moderates" on abortion have been subordinating the broader concerns of the party to their almost religious insistence on resisting anything in the laws that even hints at reservations about abortion.

Burke once remarked that parties offered "hard essays in practiced fidelity." They gave their members practice in bearing obligations and honoring some interest other than their own. That is the test that the new members of the Republican coalition now bear for the Old Republicans. Yet, in alliance, they have the prospect of attaining a political dominance they have never seen in their own lifetimes. When there is such a concert of purpose, and such ties of sentiment, why will the Old Republicans not grasp the hands that are offered so often, and with so little asked in return?

Hadley Arkes, the Ney Professor of Jurisprudence at Amherst College, is the author, most recently, of The Return of George Sutherland.

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The Most Politically Significant Supreme Court Case of 1996

by Gilbert S. Maguire

Perhaps the most important decision that will come out of the U.S. Supreme Court in 1996 will be its ruling in *Evans v. Romer,* the Colorado gay rights case. A landmark opinion with ramifications rivaling the *Roe v. Wade* abortion decision could result. For the Colorado case will influence not only issues like gay marriage and adoption, but also the standing of all other minorities in the U.S., and their ability to secure special protections and preferences within our political system.

Colorado's "Amendment Two," ratified by voters in 1992, prohibits any state body from enacting a law that entitles homosexuals to protected status, quota preference, or claims of discrimination based on their sexual orientation. Opponents argue that this strips gays of all protection from discrimination. That interpretation has been widely accepted by the media, who appear to believe that the majority of voters in Colorado, motivated by homophobia, want to deny homosexuals their basic rights.

This view ignores the avowed purpose of Amendment Two, which was to prevent the establishment of *special* rights for homosexuals. Proponents of Amendment Two explicitly state that homosexuals are entitled to equal protection of the law. If Amendment Two is allowed to stand, Colorado homosexuals will still be sheltered by the many U.S. and state provisions that protect all citizens from discrimination, assault, and so on.

Gay activists maintain that the homosexual rights ordinances enacted by politicians in Aspen, Boulder, and Denver, which Amendment Two is designed to overturn, merely provide needed insulation from bias. This ignores the practical legal effects, however, of extending new rights coverage to a specific group. Today, any law that singles out a minority for protection creates a presumption that failure to hire or promote a member of that group is a discriminatory act. This places a guilty-until-proven-innocent burden on employers, admissions officers, landlords, and others. As a result, many parties give hiring, promotion, admissions, housing, and other preferences to members of the protected class, merely to avoid legal actions. People who allegedly sought only equal status thus end up with invidious reverse-discrimination benefits—a sort of affirmative action by default.

Amendment Two does not, and legally could not, curtail the rights of homosexuals to equal protection of the law. The real issue before the Supreme Court is whether the voters of a state will be allowed to curtail the access of interest groups to special protected status, with all the "anti-discrimination" powers and preferences that go with that.

There are several legal strategies the Court could use to analyze and decide this case, but the most likely course is that the justices will directly confront the fundamental question of whether sexual orientation deserves explicit protection. The Supreme Court applies something called "suspect-class status" when it wants to give a certain minority group special protection. A suspect class is defined as an obviously distinguishable minority, subject to a history of discrimination, that is so politically powerless as to be in need of special assistance. So far, the Supreme Court has established only three suspect classes: race, national origin, and alien status.

The court has shown great reluctance to expand this list, even to categories like age and physical handicap. The problem the justices face is where to stop. If the elderly are to be protected, why not children? If the handicapped are to be a suspect class, should alcoholics and drug addicts be included? The overweight? The introverted?

Colorado homosexual activists have already lost once on the issue of whether sexual orientation qualifies as a suspect class. The Colorado trial court ruled it did not. For homosexuals to qualify as a suspect class, the court said, three elements must be proven: that they suffer from discrimination; that they exhibit obvious, immutable, distinguishing characteristics that define them as a group; and that they are politically defenseless. Homosexuals have suffered discrimination, the court concluded. Under the second criterion, however, they found evidence that environmental as well as genetic factors affect a person's sexual orientation, which in any case is not an externally distinguishing characteristic. As for the third criterion—political powerlessness—the Colorado court concluded that the Amendment Two campaign itself proved the political influence of homosexual advocates: While representing less than 4 percent of the total population of Colorado, gays were able to raise twice as much money as the amendment's backers, and convinced 46 percent of the state population to vote for their cause.

The suspect-class argument is probably the strongest one homosexual advocates have. Yet the trial court exposed some major flaws in that line of attack. These flaws were again revealed in a recent Federal Court of Appeal decision, *Equality Foundation v. Cincinnati,* that also found homosexuals not to be a suspect class.

Ultimately, the Supreme Court may decline to venture into the uncharted waters of sexual orientation, particularly to overturn the verdict of a popular referendum. This is a controversial area where deference to legislative and voter sentiment would seem prudent. A decision extending suspect-class protection to homosexuals could kick up as much controversy as *Roe v. Wade* did, undermining the Supreme Court's credibility with a citizenry seeking retrenchment from the political extravagances of the recent past.

Gilbert Maguire has written many appellate briefs to the Court of Appeal and the Supreme Court of California.

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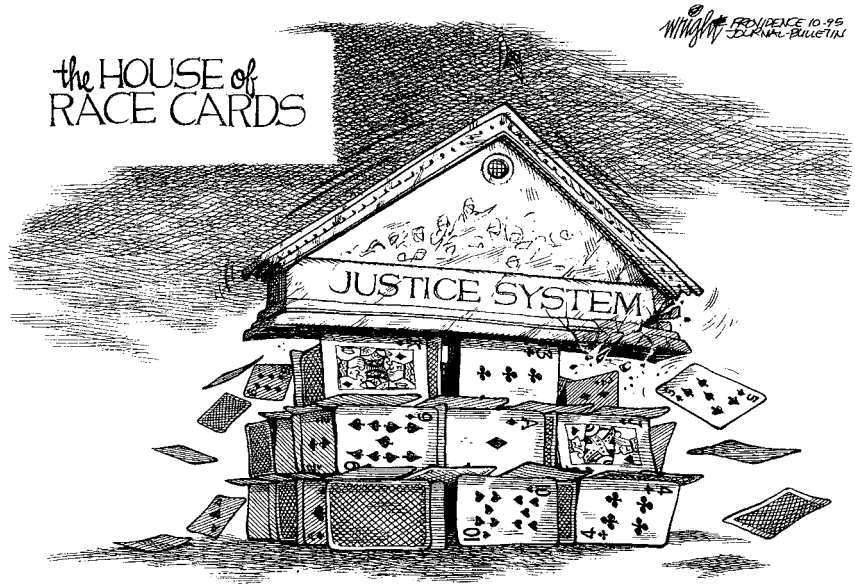
When Race Trumps Truth in Court



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by Michael D. Weiss & Karl Zinsmeister

• In 1992, a white congressional aide working for Senator Richard Shelby of Alabama was shot to death in his Capitol Hill home. A few weeks later, a young black man named Edward Evans was arrested for the crime. Two of his friends testified that they saw him shoot the young aide; one said that Evans harbored strong anti-white sentiments and had earlier vowed to kill a white man. Although this and the material evidence presented what seemed to be an overwhelming case against Evans, one African American juror refused to convict. A frustrated jury foreman told the judge that Velma McNeil would simply not give any credence to the prosecution's evidence. A hung jury and mistrial resulted. A *Washington Post* photograph showed McNeil emerging from the courtroom hugging a relative of the accused murderer.

• In 1994, a Towson State college student who became lost in the Dutch Village section of Baltimore was robbed and murdered by Davon Neverdon. After the student willingly handed over his wallet, Neverdon shot him in the face. Prosecutors presented four eyewitnesses who testified they saw Neverdon kill the man. Two other witnesses reported that Neverdon told them afterwards that he committed the murder. The evidence against Neverdon was so strong he bargained for a forty year sentence in exchange for a guilty plea, an offer which was rejected by the prosecution at the request of the victim's family. Yet a jury comprised of eleven African Americans and one Pakistani acquitted Neverdon because of "witness credibility" problems. Before the verdict, the Pakistani juror reported that "race may be playing some part" in the jury's decision.

• In another Baltimore case, a white man was killed when a cinder block was dropped on his head from a third floor balcony of a public housing project. Three witnesses identified the black defendant as the murderer and another testified in court that the defendant had confessed to him. The defendant was acquitted.

• After off-duty black police officer Rudy Thomas was murdered in Brooklyn in 1994, defendant Johnny Williams confessed to the crime on videotape, describing his motive and the murder weapon. Williams's fingerprints were found on the slain officer's motorcycle, and bullets from his gun matched those found in the victim. There were also three eyewitnesses to the crime. "We had enough evidence to supply three or four cases," reports the prosecuting attorney. But the defense claimed, with no evidence, that Williams was beaten by the white detective on the case, and a hung jury resulted. A juror who refused to give in to those favoring acquittal reported the deliberations were "blatantly racial."

• In 1994, a suburban white woman named Rebecca Gordon was driving through Detroit when she was gunned down by a group of blacks in an adjoining car. Defense counsel played the "race card" at the 1995 trial, and the inner city jury refused to convict defendant Brian Marable of murder, turning in a guilty verdict only on the misdemeanor charge of reckless discharge of a firearm.

• Darryl Smith, a black drug dealer in Washington, D.C., tortured eighteen-year-old African American Willie Wilson to death as he begged for mercy in front of witnesses. Despite massive amounts of evidence linking him to the crime, an all-black D.C. jury acquitted Smith in his 1990 murder trial. According to other

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Do black jurors have a "moral responsibility to emancipate some guilty black outlaws"?

jurors, forewoman Valerie Blackmon refused to convict because "she didn't want to send any more young black men to jail." After long deliberations, other members of the panel caved in to Blackmon's argument that the "criminal justice system is stacked against blacks" and let Smith off, though most believed that he was guilty. Three weeks after the verdict, a letter from an anonymous juror arrived at D.C. Superior Court expressing regret over the verdict.

• On August 19, 1991, after a traffic accident in which a black child was killed by a car carrying a Jewish leader, a black mob rioted down a street in the Crown Heights section of Brooklyn, shouting "Let's go get the Jews." A Jewish scholar visiting New York named Yankel Rosenbaum was stabbed to death when they encountered him on the street. Within minutes police arrived and apprehended Lemrick Nelson, Jr. at the scene with a bloody knife in his pocket. He was taken to the dying Rosenbaum, who identified Nelson as his attacker. Nelson later admitted the crime to two Brooklyn detectives, and signed a written confession. Prosecutors presented this evidence to a predominantly black jury. They refused to convict Nelson. After the acquittal, jurors celebrated with Nelson at a local restaurant. (Nelson later moved to Georgia and was convicted of slashing a schoolmate.)

◆ Clearly, there has been a booming trade in black racism in American courtrooms for some time. Then came the O.J. Simpson verdict. "The jury did not deliberate, it emoted," observed commentator Mona Charen afterwards. "If the prosecution's case was so weak, why did Johnnie Cochran argue in his summation that jurors disregard the evidence?...The reaction of so many American blacks to the verdict was unseemly and offensive....One of the jurors, a former member of the Black Panther party, gave the black power salute" to Simpson in court right after the acquittal. "Was the jury fair-minded? Is black America?" asks Charen. "Only a nation of fools would lull itself into believing that this was not a racially motivated and a racist verdict." She warns that even "if Marcia Clark had produced a videotape of the murders in progress, the defense would have argued that the filmmaker was a racist and the jury would have found 'reasonable doubt.'"

Charen's videotape scenario is actually not so far-fetched. Racial legal bias exists not only at the street level among black Americans but also high among today's black leadership. This was clearly illustrated by an article published in December in the *Yale Law Journal*, and excerpted in the December *Harper's Magazine*. In it, a black George Washington University law professor and former prosecutor in the U.S. Attorney's office in the District of Columbia named Paul Butler describes how "during the trial of Marion Barry, then the second-term mayor of the District of Columbia, Barry was being prosecuted by my office for drug possession and perjury. I learned, to my surprise, that some of my fellow African American prosecutors hoped that the mayor would be acquitted, despite the fact that he was obviously guilty of at least one of the charges—an FBI videotape plainly showed him smoking crack cocaine. These black prosecutors wanted their office to lose its case because they believed that the prosecution of Barry was racist."

In his *Yale Law Journal* and *Harper's Magazine* articles, Butler makes it clear that racialized justice is not only a thriving inner city practice, but also a theory built on determined black intellectual rationalizations. He himself is a case in point. "During a training session for new assistants conducted by experienced prosecutors," he recalls, "we rookies were informed that we would lose many of our cases, despite having persuaded a jury beyond a reasonable doubt that the defendant was guilty. We would lose because some black jurors would refuse to convict black defendants who they knew were guilty....some African American jurors vote to acquit black defendants for racial reasons." Though he was then serving as a prosecutor of drug and gun criminals, Butler himself was soon converted to "the juror's desire not to send another black man to jail." Describing America as "a police state," he currently argues that for "pragmatic and political reasons," black jurors have a "moral responsibility...to emancipate some guilty black outlaws."

Noting that polls show 66 percent of blacks believe the U.S. criminal justice system is racist, Butler points out that "African American jurors who endorse these critiques are in a unique position to act on their beliefs when they sit in judgment of a black defendant." Today's African Americans "should ask themselves whether the operation of the criminal law system in the United States advances the interests of black people," and if they believe it does not, he urges, they should "opt out," judging defendants by whatever standards they please rather than by the law. This is known as jury nullification.

Butler presents some specific suggestions as to how black juries might take the law into their own hands. He urges that for crimes like drug dealing, gun possession, theft, and perjury, nullification always ought to be considered. He calls for African Americans to exercise double standards as they see fit: "A juror might vote for acquittal, for example, when a poor woman steals from Tiffany's but not when the same woman steals from her next-door neighbor." Specifically conjuring up a case of a black "thief who burglarizes the home of a rich white family," Butler sees "a moral case to be made for nullification."

♣ Certainly big city prosecutors will tell you that they see lots of racialized jury-behavior. Lead prosecutor Marcia Clark told CNN after the Simpson acquittal that "a majority black jury won't bring a conviction in a case like this." She later scurried to retract that "off the record" statement, but other officials are not so shy. Los Angeles County deputy district attorney Bobby Grace states that "growing resentment...can affect a jury verdict." Atlanta-area assistant district attorney Leigh Dupre estimates that at least one-fourth of all criminal cases that end in acquittal may involve some form of racial nullification.

Prosecutors agree that urban black jurors have turned extremely skeptical of prosecution witnesses, especially police officers. Brooklyn district attorney Charles Hynes states that "the problem my office faced in court in the Yankel Rosenbaum trial is one that confronts prosecutors in most urban areas today: distrust by inner-city residents of the police officers who are sworn to protect and serve them." Bob Agacinski, deputy chief of the Wayne

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County prosecutors in Detroit, blames defense counsel for introducing this "racial appeal to juries...especially in cases where the witnesses are police officers. Police credibility is easy to attack...and juries are buying the argument that the police are looking to lock up any black man....Minor inconsistencies in police testimony become reasonable doubt when the case has racial overtones." Racial pleas are "notoriously overused" by defense counsel, says Agacinski. He estimates that over "50 percent of the cases which go to trial involve some type of racial appeal."

Prosecutors have noted a "more blatant use" of the racial defense since the Simpson trial began. In the summer 1994, for instance, after an elderly man was beaten to death by a black defendant at a Detroit-area McDonald's, defense attorneys invoked racial sympathies even though the defendant confessed the murder to police officers. They claimed the confession was coerced by the white officers, and the predominantly black jury voted to acquit.

Rogue cops really do exist, as the vile Mark Fuhrman recently reminded us. But at present, *every* cop is viewed as a rogue by many inner-city jurors. "Police officers now have to prove that race was *not* an issue in an arrest," reports a former prosecutor in the U.S. attorney's office in Washington D.C. Baltimore assistant state attorney Ahmet Hisim illustrates the problem using a rating scale. In a typical city today, he says, "black jurors will automatically assess at least thirty points out of a hundred against a police officer's credibility, without even hearing any testimony."

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Defense counsel are also quick to attack the credibility of non-police prosecution witnesses. A former assistant U.S. attorney in D.C. maintains that "in major metropolitan cities where prosecutors deal with predominantly black juries, defense counsel will put the government on trial because of the kinds of witnesses that the government must use." Often the prosecution has to rely on informants involved in the same kinds of activity as the defendant, and today's suspicious juries leap to discount their testimony. Determined skepticism of this sort can be very difficult to overcome. D.C. Detective Donald Gossage, who worked on the Darryl Smith case, notes that "you don't have your nuns and doctors and lawyers standing on these street corners."

In addition to prosecutors' estimates like the startling ones above from Detroit's Agacinski and Atlanta's Dupre, there are other small and localized indicators of increased racialism in court. More hung juries are one obvious sign. The black teenager who murdered English tourist Gary Colley at a Florida rest stop, for instance, had to be tried three times before he was convicted because his first two trials ended in hung juries. This despite the fact that he and his three teenage accomplices had more than a hundred arrests amongst them at the time of the murder. In California, there are currently between 10,000 and 11,000 hung juries annually—up to 15 percent of all cases tried. That figure represents a lot of foregone justice, and also a huge public expense, given that the average trial costs taxpayers $10,000 a day, according to the California District Attorney's Association.

Hard nationwide figures on acquittals by race of defendant, victim, and jury are hard to come by. Data from the U.S.

Does Acquitting Black Criminals Really Help Blacks?

While many blacks call for the police to be more lenient and for black juries to "nullify" sentences against non-violent black criminals, others call for stricter law enforcement. Black victimization is rising, they note, with 27 percent of all African American households being touched by crime each year. If this siege is to be lifted, more black criminals—who commit 85 percent of the crimes against black victims—will have to be put away.

Carl Rowan Jr., a former FBI agent who is now an attorney and treasurer of the Law Enforcement Alliance of America, argues that African American leaders should move away from an outdated civil rights agenda to one that focuses on crime prevention. "When you're a prisoner in your own home," he says, "singing 'We Shall Overcome' won't get the job done."

"Law enforcement is not the answer to every problem of the black community," Rowan adds, "but it does take care of putting away very violent criminals who prey on people." He argues that the police should be as vigilant in solving burglaries and muggings as they are in solving more violent crimes. In Washington, D.C., for example, Rowan says the police spend "90 percent of their effort in lowering the homicide rate," resulting in steadily rising rates of burglaries and auto thefts. But the hard-working victims of muggers and thieves, Rowan believes, end up fleeing the inner city for the suburbs, resulting in a lower "quality of life" for those African Americans who remain.

Other African Americans agree with Rowan. *Destiny* magazine editor Emmanuel McLittle, for example, deplores black juries who let criminals go free because they happen to be black. He says that every time a black jury puts a career criminal back on the street, they're helping to "turn a beast into a demon."

McLittle believes that the criminal justice system should ultimately be color-blind and that black criminals should receive sentences as harsh as whites who commit the same offenses. "Black jurors should be jurors first and blacks second," McLittle says. "It's a sad thing when people ask black jurors to do something white jurors wouldn't do."

Issues and Views editor Elizabeth Wright believes that in the long term, the only way the African American crime epidemic will be solved is for blacks to teach their peers to do the right thing and avoid wrongdoing. But in the short term, she argues, the best way to deal with black criminals is to send them to jail. "Most people in prison," she says, "deserve to be there."

—The Editors

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Bureau of Justice Statistics do show that in the 75 largest counties in the U.S., rates of felony prosecution and conviction are slightly lower for blacks than whites. In a few jurisdictions where clear statistics are available, the patterns are dramatic. Nationwide, the felony acquittal rate for defendants of all races is only 17 percent, but in the Bronx, where more than eight out of ten jurors are black or Hispanic, 48 percent of all black felony defendants are acquitted. In Washington, D.C., where more than 95 percent of defendants and 70 percent of jurors are black, 29 percent of all felony trials ended in acquittal in 1994. In Wayne County, which includes mostly black Detroit, 30 percent of felony defendants are acquitted.

On the day of the O.J. Simpson acquittal, a veteran New York law enforcement official estimated off-handedly to criminologist John DiIulio that "there's 100,000 O.J.s. We've reached the point where the system is rigged to let murderers, and not just rich ones, escape justice."

What are the ultimate effects of this racialized judgment in U.S. courtrooms? Obviously there is tremendous personal hurt in cases where justice is not done, and the number of such cases is rising. There is also more disrespect for the law, and a lot more crime and society-wide damage done by perpetrators who should be locked up instead of roaming the streets.

Former U.S. attorney Joseph DiGenova argues that advocates of jury nullification on racial grounds are "pushing anarchy." The refusal to convict by black juries is "rampant" and getting worse, he warns, and this is feeding the inner-city crime cycle. DiGenova also notes that "we fought like hell to get blacks into the system as cops and prosecutors and judges, and now these guys are being fiercely ostracized and pressured, and told in their own community that a black person shouldn't work in such a position. Well who *is* supposed to respond to black criminals? Or are we just supposed to pretend there aren't any black criminals?"

John Dilulio adds that big city prosecutors today view cases where there is a white victim and a black defendant as "no win situations." Recognizing that it will be difficult to get a conviction, prosecutors pull their punches: avoiding the death penalty like the plague even where it is clearly merited (like the Simpson case), avoiding multiple counts and other moves that might give the appearance of piling on, largely letting defense attorneys pick the juries, and trying desperately to plea bargain everything to avoid going to a jury in the first place. The result, Dilulio says, is that "blacks are being substantially and systematically under-prosecuted today, not only in cases of black-on-white crime, but also in cases of black-on-black."

Baltimore prosecutor Hisim advises that it is dangerous for jurors to attempt to "fix the system by being revolutionary." Recognizing that "black jurors seem to be striking back at society," Hisim suggests that they should be educated about the consequences of racially-based nullification, since ninety percent of crime is committed by people living in a juror's own community. The irony is that by letting clearly guilty individuals go, jurors are only "infecting their own neighborhoods with criminals."

Reforming Juries

At a forum on "Race and Juries" recently staged in Washington, D.C., by the Center for Equal Opportunity, several panelists concluded that the Simpson outcome was representative of broad problems in U.S. courtrooms, and then offered some partial solutions.

Walter Berns, resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, called for elimination of the peremptory challenges that lawyers use to manipulate the make-up of juries. "We can draw jurors by lot from a cross section of the community and require those drawn to serve, no exemptions and no challenges," he suggested. Jeffrey Rosen of *The New Republic* seconded this motion, urging that no independently identifiable group should be allowed to be systematically struck from juries—particularly the educated, professionals, and successful members of society, as is common at present. "The need to abolish peremptory challenges ... is an absolute social imperative. We can't possibly persist with a jury system which doesn't look like America, that seems to be particularly skewed on a class and education basis."

Michael Meyers, the African American director of the New York Civil Rights Coalition, argued that procedural reform is only the beginning of what's needed to fix the problem, because the Simpson jury's verdict was a political statement:

> The O.J. jury members projected impatience, hostility, contempt, and distrust at the prosecution. They were in open rebellion through their refusal to come to court, through the wearing of black armbands, through falling asleep, through their vocal groans and moans, right up to the Black Power salute that juror Lionel Cryer gave Mr. Simpson in court right after the verdict was read.
>
> Even before Johnnie Cochran's closing statement, his Nation of Islam bodyguards and other signals delivered a message to the jury that the defense was a crusade for civil rights. Race analysts called the final verdict "payback time"—retribution for all the black men now in prison who have been framed by police and falsely accused of heinous crimes.
>
> We are at a crossroads in American jurisprudence. The question is whether we are going to have juries who are educated and sensitive to the commands of justice, and welcome their jury service, or whether the "peers" who judge criminal acts will be embittered social malcontents, empowered to permit passion, prejudice, or sheer ignorance to intrude into their deliberations. If we permit the latter, jury verdicts will be more swift and more ill-advised. Indeed juries will not even need to retire for deliberations. They can just count faces.
>
> Manipulators who attempt to use the tactics of jury radicalization, indoctrination, or racialization to create "payback" verdicts must expect opposition—not "white backlash," but opposition. The risks to society are too high when it is governed by what is essentially a rule of war.

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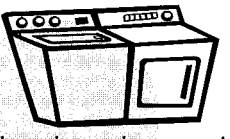
How Poor are the Poor?

BY BRUCE BARTLETT



Along with its annual poverty report, the U.S. Bureau of the Census recently released a study measuring the availability of various consumer appliances to different groups of Americans. These data show that even persons officially described as poor in this country now have extraordinary access to conveniences, labor saving devices, and even luxury goods. For example, 93 percent of poor families have a color television, 72 percent have their own washing machine, 60 percent have microwaves and VCRs.

To put these numbers in perspective, it is worth looking at comparable rates in other industrialized countries (see Table One). Comparative figures show that ownership of dishwashers, for instance, is higher among Americans living in poverty than it is among the *general* population in the Netherlands, Italy, or the U.K. Ownership of clothes dryers among *all* Swedes is about the same as among the American poor. Typical residents of every country in Europe have less access to microwaves than the U.S. poor do. And the U.K. is the only country in Europe where general ownership of VCRs exceeds that of the American poor.

Data on consumer expenditures collected by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics confirm that America's "poor" have a comparatively high level of material well-being. In fact, economic consumption by households in the lowest 20 percent of the U.S. income distribution is more than double their reported income, as Table Two illustrates. How can that be? There are a variety of simple explanations: some people have unreported income, some are living off reserves while their income is just temporarily low, some are supported by family members. Insofar as consumption is a truer measure of living standards than income, the main point is that many low-income Americans are far better off than their reported income suggests.

Two other factors obscure the true condition of America's poor. One is non-cash in-

TABLE ONE

Percent of Households Owning Selected Appliances

	VCR	Microwave	Dishwasher	Dryer
U.S. Poor	60	60	20	50
All residents:				
Belgium	42	21	26	39
Denmark	39	14	26	22
France	35	25	33	12
Germany	42	36	34	17
Italy	25	6	18	10
Netherlands	50	22	11	27
Spain	40	9	11	5
Sweden	48	37	31	18
Switzerland	41	15	32	27
U.K.	65	48	11	32

Source: Euromonitor, 1991; U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1992.

Blue-Ribbon Commission

Recently, a commission of economists headed by Stanford University's Michael Boskin met to study the way government agencies measure inflation via the so-called Consumer Price Index, or CPI. One reason that subject is important to more than just statisticians is because the CPI is used to adjust the nation's income and poverty numbers. If inflation is being mismeasured every year, then income and poverty will be too. Over a period of years, our understanding of how our quality of life is progressing can be badly skewed.

In addition to Boskin, former chairman of the president's Council of Economic Advisers and an adjunct scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, the blue ribbon commission included eminent scholars like Dale Jorgenson, an expert on measuring economic growth and former winner of the John Bates Clark award for best American economist under age 40, and Zvi Griliches of Harvard, former president of the American Economic Association and an authority on the measurement of quality changes in goods and services. The group issued their report in September.

For purposes of understanding U.S. in-

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come. Food and housing are two of the largest expenditure items (after taxes) in any family budget, yet a poor person may live in government housing and receive food stamps without a dime of these benefits being counted as income. The second factor is that a large percentage of those with low money incomes are elderly (37 percent of persons whose income puts them in the bottom fifth of households are over 65, according to the Census Bureau). Many of these older people have substantial assets and low expenses to go with their low incomes. Elderly persons in the bottom fifth had a median net worth of $30,400 in the latest year. Fully 41 percent of Americans in the bottom fifth owned their own home, and three-quarters of that group held it free and clear, with no mortgage payments to make.

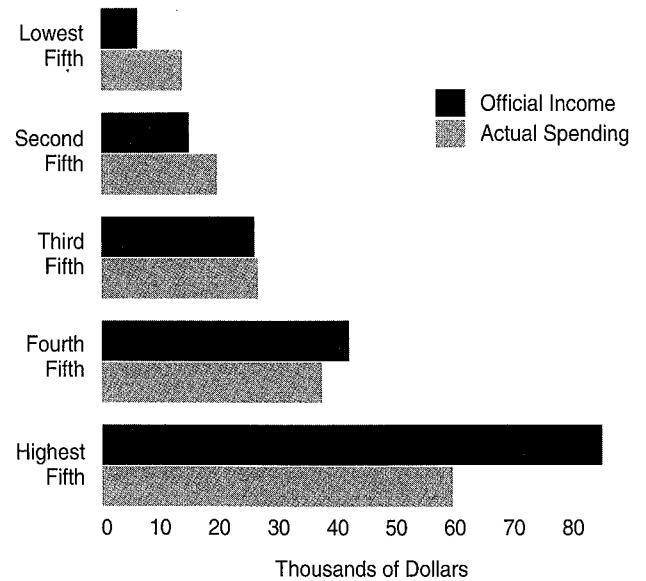
In short, while many Americans who appear to be poor are under real strain, many others are not.

Bruce Bartlett is a senior fellow at the National Center for Policy Analysis.

TABLE TWO

Official Income versus Actual Spending

U. S Households by Fifths, 1993



Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics

Suggests Poverty in America is Over-Estimated

come trends and poverty, the most important finding of the Boskin Commission was that the CPI has overstated the rise in the cost of living in recent years by about 1.5 percent a year. That may not sound like much to a layman, but it's a very big deal. Economics writer Jonathan Marshall illustrates why:

> Say your boss gave you a 3 percent raise last year, but prices rose 2 1/2 percent, according to the government. That left you thinking you came away with only half a percent more purchasing power after inflation.... Now say the government got its figures wrong and prices really climbed only 1.5 percent. In that case your buying power actually rose 1.5 percent—three times as much as you originally thought. Over a decade, that difference would compound into sizable sums.

If the Boskin commission economists are right, median weekly earnings for full-time male workers didn't *fall* 12 percent from 1979 to 1994, as the gloomy official numbers suggest—they actually *rose* 14 percent. And women's earnings over the same period didn't rise 7 percent as published, but actually zoomed upward 35 percent.

The number of Americans in poverty under these revised figures is enormously different than officially advertised. If the CPI has been overstated by 1.5 percent a year since 1967, there are 15 million poor this year instead of 38 million.

Marshall comments:

> These revisions to the wage and poverty picture may seem fancifully rosy, but they fit with other facts about improvements in people's material well-being. From 1970 to 1990, Americans' life expectancy rose to 75 years from 71 years. The share of households without a telephone fell to 5 percent from 13 percent. The share of households with color TVs soared to 96 percent from 34 percent. The number of households with cable TV jumped to 55 million from 4 million.

The Boskin Commission spelled out a variety of reasons why the CPI seems to be overstating the cost of living. These include:

Overlooking consumer substitutions of cheaper goods for more pricey ones, like the shift from beef to chicken.

Missing improvements in quality and efficiency in new goods which mean that consumers are getting much more for the same dollar spent—as when they get a bigger refrigerator that runs on less energy for the same amount an inferior fridge cost a decade earlier.

Failing to take account of the mass switchover of consumers from shopping at department stores and regular groceries to discount outlets instead, where they get the same goods for less than official retail prices.

Leaving out new products and services that improve human welfare.

"Just momentous" is how Harvard economist Jorgenson summarized the commission's findings to Marshall. "This," he notes, "could revolutionize the whole standard-of-living story."

—The Editors

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DECONSTRUCTING

by Frederick Turner

It is December 20, 2015, and I am writing this at your request—though you have no sanctions to force me beyond the punishments I already face. From my cell I can see the fused stumps of the El Aksa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock. There seems to be some activity going on over there, though with my poor eyesight I cannot make it out exactly. I'm told the Wailing Wall has completely disappeared, and that the old limestone paving blocks of the square were turned to marble by the heat and shock-wave of the explosion. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre has been reduced to rubble. They say the total death-count is around 80,000.

It was perhaps a little melodramatic of you to hold my trial here within sight of my greatest achievement. The residual radioactivity must surely inconvenience the court. And it was a little obvious to give me a cell facing Jerusalem's ruins. As a veteran propagandist I must warn you against gestures that might suggest a media show trial. Purely professional advice, one publicist to another.

The failure of our little conspiracy—yes, 80,000 dead was a failure, as you shall learn—does not diminish a certain exhilaration that I must confess to feeling. You wish to know how I did it; you are not interested in why. But let us compromise: I will give a little how if you will accept a little why.

I was born in 1968 in Aurora, Illinois, not far from the big collider ring at Fermilab. That was the year of the revolutionary socialists in Paris, of the Days of Rage in Chicago—uprisings that were our inspirations and raw precursors. Our movement we called the *Chiffre* (French for "cipher").

My father, a liberal Presbyterian minister, saw promise in me and groomed me for a religious career. Much to his disappointment I chose literary studies, escaping first to Madison, Wisconsin, and then to Berkeley and Santa Cruz. There I made the acquaintance of the great magicians of our movement: Derrida, Heidegger, de Man, Althusser, Foucault, the feminists, the multiculturalists, the deep ecologists. My father died in '87; my mother is, I am told, here in Israel for my trial, but I refuse to see her. Some time during graduate school I met and married my wife, whose name for the moment escapes me; we had a son. When I went to Europe I did not leave them an address; I heard some years later that my teenage son committed suicide. I have to approve of his instinct for liberation; in my case the act had to be delayed because I had bigger fish to fry.

In Santa Cruz, while working on my unfinished Ph.D., I met Ruhollah and Héloise, and we founded the *Chiffre*. Ruholla, who took his revolutionary name from the Ayatollah Khomeini, was born Bruce Robins. He was a dazzlingly handsome youth, in appearance the all-American boy, with his golden locks and clean-cut jaw. His favorite garb was a check shirt and chinos, though later, in order to fit in with our European friends, he adopted the black tieless shirt, black parachute silk pants, and ponytail of the Paris intellectual. Héloise, born Susan Jones, renamed herself for the medieval nun who violated her vow of chastity. She was also strikingly attractive, in her dark, anorexic way. She was charming, hostile, and extremely intelligent. She smelled to me of smoke and electricity; we never touched each other's bodies, even casually. I was the only unattractive one of us three, with my lank hair, concave frame, and long pale face. I shall not go into the relationship among us; it is a personal and irrelevant matter, and they are dead now.

We had long analytical conversations over coffee in the Broken Cross, a favorite student hangout, painted black, with a view of the Pacific. The key, as we saw it, was freedom. Of course our vocabulary did not contain such clumsy terms as "key" or "freedom"—I am putting this in your terms. We sought the common denominator of the many liberation movements that arose in the 1970s and '80s, during what we called "late capitalism." (In 1989 it became obvious that unless we did something about it, this was actually only the first dawn of true capitalism.)

The common denominator at the root of liberationism was rejection of all foundations. Structuralism showed us we didn't need to consider the "meaning," of a statement; structure was all. Then deconstructionism called structure itself into question. The new historicism showed that language was designed to support the interests of the powerful. Feminism demonstrated that gender was simply a linguistic invention used to oppress women. Multiculturalism unmasked colonial tyranny. Deep ecology showed that human logic and language was just an excuse for ecological genocide.

It was not enough for us that humankind had liberated itself from God. All the grammatical, intellectual, and natural constraints by which authority has its hold on us must be overthrown. Women must liberate themselves from male domination; people of color must reject white scientific logic; animals must be liberated from their slavery to humans; biological life must be freed from the influence of human technology.

So far we were still in the mainstream of postmodern intellectualism. But the *Chiffre* went further. After all, matter itself is constrained by the metabolism and anatomy of animals and plants. True liberation must include the liberation of matter from life.

Furthermore, matter itself is confined in structure; energy is bound up in matter. Genuine liberation must involve the liberation of energy from matter. And if it is possible, even energy should be deconstructed in turn, for energy is a repetitive structure of waves arbitrarily imposed upon space-time. Sometimes, as we sat

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JERUSALEM

a millennial New Year's story

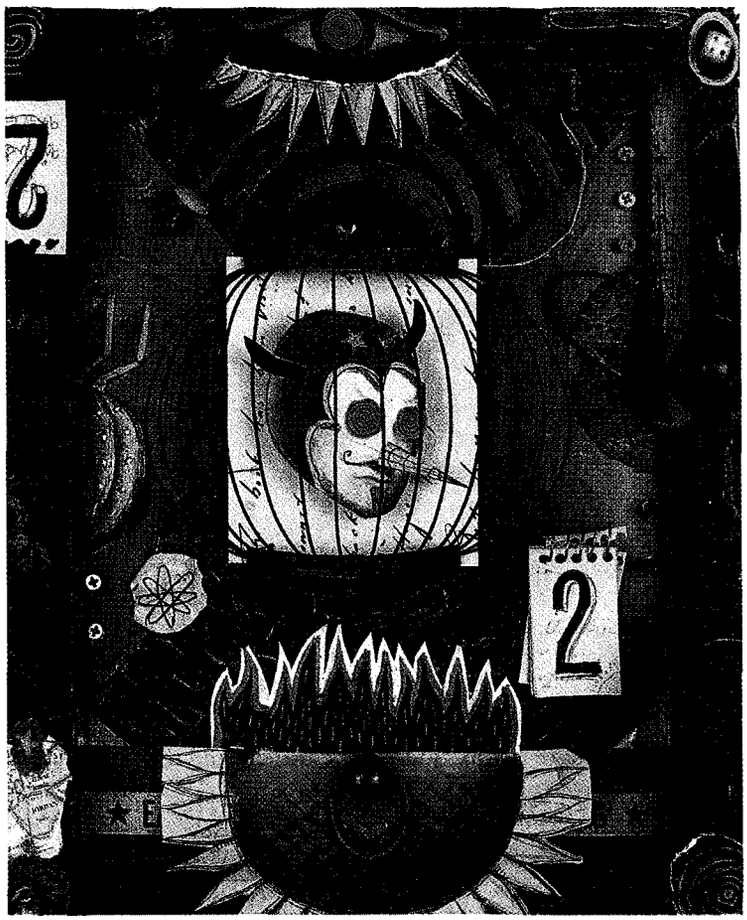

Illustration by Brian Alan Rea

watching the red evening sun sink into the Pacific over the tips of the redwood groves, we speculated upon a final liberation in which complete randomness and chaos would be freed into their eternal joy.

Ah, the pleasures of college! But there were practical matters to attend to. We were the intellectual favorites at Santa Cruz and we all got grants to go to Europe: Héloise to Bologna, Ruholla to Paris, I to Berlin. We stayed in touch, at first by stolen telephone account numbers, later by e-mail. Héloise made contact with the Red Brigades and through them the Libyans. Ruholla coordinated our efforts with various revolutionary groups in France and Britain. I lived in the Kreuzberg district of Berlin and got to know the stream of radicals passing through after the collapse of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

This was a bad time for us. In our various academic or publishing jobs, shuttling between America and Europe, we felt a deepening depression about the state of the revolution. There has been, we concede, a great cultural renaissance. The first decade of the twenty-first century has seen an amazing flowering of formal poetry, interactive multimedia, opera, religious art, clothing fashions, the art of the perfumier, landscape restoration, animal and plant breeding, domestic architecture. We cannot deny the intellectual achievements of the new speculative theology, reenactive history, complexity science. More unfortunate yet (for we are revolutionaries, and follow the revolutionary creed "the worse, the better"), there has been the steady rise in the standard of living of all people on Earth and the proliferation of democratic forms of government. Meanwhile, the forests and prairies are coming back, together with many species once thought extinct or endangered.

What is especially horrifying to us has been the fact that many of these changes took place under the now-familiar regime of privatized government. Large-scale social changes that once occurred only under a grand state apparatus, often accompanied by the slaughter of hundreds of thousands of people, now are accomplished efficiently by the multinational for-profit organizations to which we bid out our tax dollars. And such vulgar names and slogans!—The Jefferson: Democracy At A Price You Can Afford. J.C. Penney Administrative Division—Leave The Politics To Us. Liberty Bell: The Tradition People. The *Chiffre* has done you all a favor in lending this moment of otherwise banal history a certain grandeur and resonance that can only be achieved by death and destruction on the grand scale.

When I ran across Dr. Marva Klebs in Berlin, she seemed to offer the perfect solution to our tactical and strategic problems. Blocky, gray-haired, pipe-smoking Marva became the fourth member of our team. I understand from the literature of physical science that Marva is considered to be a second-rate nuclear physicist, and that her work in antimatter production is more a matter of good experimental design than original research. But I insist that she is a brilliant laboratory scientist. None of the principles she applied were new—after all, short-lived antimatter particles have routinely been produced in supercolliders for nearly 50 years—but the combination was inspired.

What Marva proposed was to use a simple fission explosion to drive a laser pump, which, in the instant before it was annihilated by its own power source, would cool gold nuclei to absolute zero. At this point a superconducting scalar field generator, powered by the explosion's electromagnetic pulse, would reverse the nuclei's charge and parity, creating antimatter gold. The fission blast would scatter the antimatter so formed in a large fireball, and then the true explosion would take place. The atomic detonation would only be the trigger for the instantaneous creation, and then the mutual annihilation with ordinary matter, of several ounces of antimatter. (Ironic that the only use for the terror-weapon of the

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twentieth century would be as the mere fuse for a really effective device in the twenty-first!) The release of energy resulting from the antimatter process would, by Einstein's $E=MC^2$ formula, be on the order of hundreds of millions of megatons, and would stand a fair chance of obliterating life on earth.

Our choice of Jerusalem as the site of our liberation of energy from its imprisonment within the trap of matter was both less symbolic and more symbolic than it has been represented in the press. We were not intending to single out Jerusalem as the "bad apple," so to speak, that infects the whole barrel. After all, the destruction of the holy city would have preceded only by a few hours or days the destruction of all the other cities on the planet. But by destroying Jerusalem first we were giving it the honor of representing the meaning of all the other destruction. Literally a new star would rise over Bethlehem. There is a certain elegance in the poetics of our design that I would not wish to go unnoticed.

We purchased on the black market an old Moldavian medium-range missile warhead. Marva checked it out and assured us it was still in good condition, a tribute to Soviet military workmanship. We have promised not to reveal the name of the nation where we worked on it, nor the means by which we smuggled it into Israel, and it pleases my whim to keep this promise. No doubt with your admirable surveillance capabilities you have ferreted out this information anyway, but without a public confession, anything is deniable. Certainly our hosts were not aware of the enhanced capabilities we intended for our device. They would surely not have subsidized their own destruction and cannot be fully held to blame.

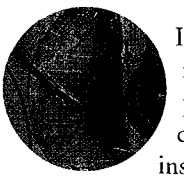
The obvious question is, "why didn't the bomb work as intended?" Alas, I am as much in the dark on this matter as you. My own theory centers upon our two slovenly and incompetent technical assistants, Duane and Bogdan. Marva and her chief science officer, Viktor Shevchenko, were meticulous to a fault. And we of the *Chiffre,* who helped out when we could get away from our duties, were intelligent, careful, and obedient. I doubt if any of the five of us was responsible for the technical failure—for that is what I am sure it was.

Duane, however, ignored clean room regulations, did not cut his hair, and chewed tobacco. Bogdan had a bad habit of leaving food inside complex pieces of machinery. These two men—human entropy incarnate—were the best we could get when we tried to hire staff who were sufficiently greedy, disloyal and stupid to work on such a project without asking questions. So it may well be that the world was saved by a ham, swiss and mustard on white jammed into a vital laser relay. While there is a nice irony in the literal deconstruction their carelessness brought about, I am saddened that the greater deconstruction should have been frustrated by the lesser.

When the day came, Héloise, Ruhollah, and I had decided to sit out the explosion on the Mount of Olives. We were about a mile and a half from ground zero, which was an old auto-body shop in the Arab sector, and had brought bread, goat cheese, and red wine. In celebration I happened to be wearing a white suit, and my view from our picnic spot was partly blocked by the trunk of an old olive tree. This combination of happenstances, together with my excellent Porsche sunglasses, saved my life. Of course all three of us expected to be annihilated by the equivalent of the appearance of a small sun in the immediate locality. But only Héloise and Ruhollah, who were wearing their customary black and exposed to the full force of the blast, had their wish. I escaped with minor radiation burns and a few bruises. Such are the quirks of explosions of this kind. I could not see for some time afterwards, but am now able to read, write, and make out the general shape of distant scenes. As you know, when my identity became known at the hospital in Ramallah, I was arrested and charged.

This, then, is the story of our escapade. Obviously I am liable to the utmost penalties of your laws. But I regard my trial as a first-rate opportunity to plead our case and persuade bolder spirits of the perfection of our analysis and our cause, and perhaps the enterprise at which we failed may one day be completed by others.

Even the modest discharge I witnessed was a supreme aesthetic experience. I seem to recall the fireball confined by a gigantic membrane, not exactly spherical but slightly lumpy and distended here and there, like the stomach of a disemboweled animal. It hung over the radiant city, which seemed to rise toward it as if blown by a festive and brilliant wind. On one side the fireball's membrane had partly ruptured to reveal the richly glowing turbulence of the interior. The colors were brighter and more saturated than any I have ever seen.



I am completing this testament three days after my last words. Since then I have learned the purposes of the activity I had dimly made out in the central ruins. Evidently my guards have not been instructed to keep information from me, and they readily explained the work when I asked. It seems the radioactive debris is being cleared and the foundations laid for a remarkable new structure: A combined mosque, temple, and church commemorating the new friendship of the three great religions of the Book. It celebrates the unquenchability of Jerusalem, and the prosperity of the globe during history's most extensive period of world peace since the fabled ceasefire at the birth of Christ.

It appears therefore that our cause is lost. During my time with the *Chiffre* I learned an ingenious technique for suicide that could be employed under the most constrained circumstances. It consists of the swallowing of one's own tongue at the moment that the breath has been totally expelled. It requires a great deal of practice under careful supervision, but the tongue is a muscle that can be trained, and I got some of the cadres to teach me. This act will be more eloquent and more truly honest than any homily on the liberation of light from its material imprisonment I might give before a triumphant court.

If I an ordinary nothing were,
As shadow, a light and body must be here.

But I am none; nor will my sun renew.

[Note to the Coroner: the prisoner was discovered on the morning of Christmas Eve, choked with his own tongue. No blame for negligence can be laid upon the prison authorities. We suggest that the cadaver be released to the university hospital for medical use. —Moishe Arom, Chief Investigator.]

Frederick Turner is a distinguished poet and critic, and is Founders Professor of the Arts and Humanities at the University of Texas at Dallas.

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In Real Life

THE DAILY WORK OF AMERICANS

WORKING IN CONGRESS IN A WHOLE NEW WAY

by J.C. Watts, Jr.

When I first arrived in Congress this year, a lot of the Beltway press would ask me, "What's it like to be a black Republican?" I guess they think that's a good question. I always tell them, "Hey I don't know—I've never experienced the alternative." I remember one time when I was posing for a picture with the other black Republican, Gary Franks, and I turned to him and said "Gary did you ever think in your wildest imagination that we would get so much attention just for living our convictions?"

I didn't get my values or my principles from the Republican or Democratic party. I got my values from my mother and father—Helen and J.C. "Buddy" Watts—growing up in Eufala, Oklahoma, a poor rural community. I got my values in a strong church, surrounded by love, a strong community, and a strong family. These influences instilled in me a burning desire to be all that I could be. My priorities today revolve around the deep beliefs I gained early in life. Beliefs like the idea that character matters, and that you should take responsibility for your actions.

I truly believe in the party of Lincoln. If we Americans advocate family, church, community, and responsibility for the next thirty years as fervently as we advocated the Great Society over the last thirty years, we will have, I guarantee, a truly great society.

For the last generation, we have measured compassion in this country by how many people are on food stamps and in public housing. It's time we started measuring our compassion instead by how *few* people are on food stamps and in public housing, because we've created the means for them to climb the ladder of economic opportunity.

One of my goals as a congressman is to encourage capital formation in the U.S. My father used to say, "Son, you'll never get a job from a poor man." And he was right. It is the building up of private capital and businesses that brings light into dark economic corners. Government dependence only leads to one thing—more government dependence.

The hard part for some people to comprehend is that in this new congress, we are aiming to do government in a whole new way. A radically different way. We've tried one worn path for more than three decades. Let's try something fresh now, and actually make a difference.

Congressman J.C. Watts, Jr. represents Oklahoma's 4th District.

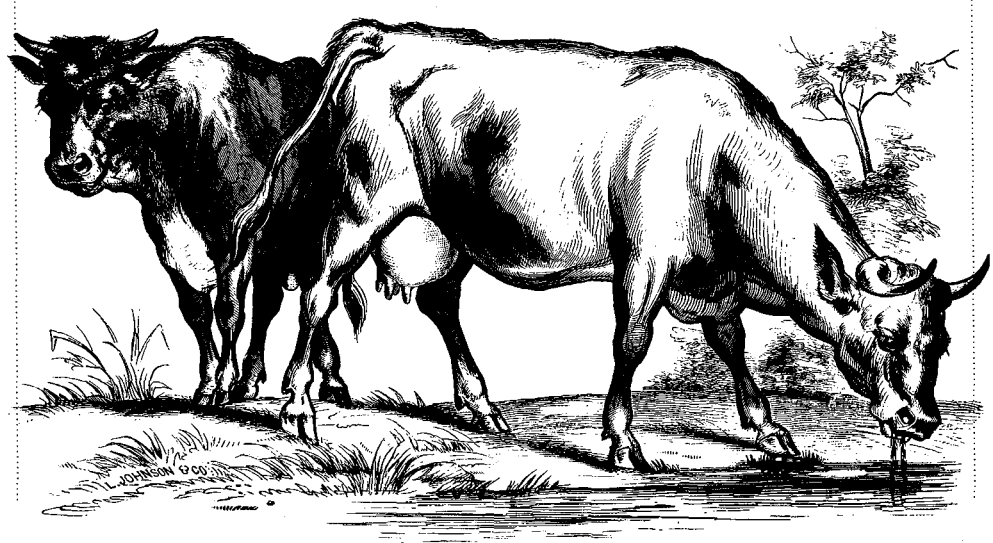
FAIR WEEK

by Blake Hurst

Sunday: We leave church early because it's time to give our five 4-H calves a haircut. Our church is small, and the sight of ten percent of the congregation leaving prior to the sermon was probably a trifle upsetting to our brand new pastor. But bovine grooming waits for no man. We have to wash the calves before they can be clipped. The "calves" weigh over 1000 pounds, and giving an animal that size a bath is a rather involved process. Most of the dirt is transferred from the calves to the kids, but when our groomer arrives, the calves are ready. Clipping them takes the rest of the afternoon. An artist cannot be rushed.

Monday: The day before the big show. Just as we are ready to load the calves, we receive a tremendous thunderstorm. The lot where the calves had lived since their arrival nine months ago is a quagmire. The calves are reluctant to enter the livestock trailer, but with Julie twisting their tails, and all three kids and me on the halter ropes in front, we finally manage to get them aboard. Any progress toward cleanliness made on Sunday is lost.

Tuesday: The day of the show has finally arrived. We begin our day by washing the calves again, and then grooming them. Calf grooming is an art. My maternal great-grandfather made his living by preparing purebred livestock for show. Lately, however, the profession has fallen on hard times. Last year the farm magazines reported scandals in the beef show circuit, as calves were dyed to disguise their identity, injected with steroids to improve their musculature, and under-



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went liposuction to improve their appearance, sort of like an aging movie star. The grooming process at our fair is considerably less involved, although the kids and I spend the whole morning brushing the calves, working aloe scented shaving cream into their hair to make it shine, applying the bovine version of mousse to make their hair stand up, and oiling their hindquarters to make them appear thicker. I am not making this up.

The calves are split into classes by weight for the show. Each of my girls has two calves and Ben has one. In the lightweight division, one of Lee's calves wins the class, and will be eligible to show for Grand Champion. In a later class, Ann's calf places second, but then after a tremendous amount of deliberation the judge switches the top two animals in the class, making Ann's the winner, and thus also eligible to show for Grand Champion.

Ben's calf is in the heavyweight class. It weighs 1335 pounds, and is taller than Ben. Ben leads his calf in the general direction that the ring master indicates, but there is some doubt about who is in charge. Cattle are not smart, but this one has figured out that he has a 1250 pound weight advantage. Ben has a smile as wide as all outdoors, and spends most of his time in the ring posing for his mother as she takes his picture. His calf places near the bottom of the class, but he survives his first show without bodily harm, and his mother and I are relieved.

The calves are steers, and will be sold for slaughter after the show. The judge is attempting to select winners on the basis of what beef packers want in the animals they buy for your grocery store shelves. Obviously, a calf should have more porterhouse than hamburger, more K.C. strip than pot roast. The degree of finish, or fat cover, is also very important. Steers without enough finish will be discounted at slaughter. But the penalties for being too fat are even harsher. The consumer's desire for lean beef is very evident in the kind of animal that wins the Atchison County Fair.

The preliminaries are over, and it's time to select the Grand Champion, with both our girls among the six finalists. The girls are working hard at showing their animals, and the crowd is silent as the judge ponders his decision. As soon as he moves to the microphone and begins "talking" the class, it's clear that Ann's calf will win. The kids have been showing calves for almost ten years now, and it's nice (and a bit surprising) to have a Grand Champion.

Wednesday: The fair ends with the sale of the calves at auction, with local business people paying a premium to the kids. As always, I'm impressed with the generosity of the townspeople, who reward the exhibitors for their efforts. Ben's calf is fed up with the proceedings, and drags Ben around the show ring. He sells well, however, and then heads back to his stall at a dead run. Ben asks me how much he brought, and I tell him $310. I can see Ben thinking about all of the time he spent caring for his calf when there were bikes to ride and books to read, the hot afternoons spent grooming, and the indignity of being dragged around the show ring. "It wasn't worth it," he answers. I explain to him that the auction was just an extra bonus, and that he would receive another $800 or so when the calf is slaughtered, but he remains unconvinced.

MY KIDS WILL KNOW THAT THE WORK HAS TO BE DONE, NO MATTER WHAT, AND THAT PROFITS ARE BY NO MEANS A SURE THING.

The Atchison County Fair is an artifact, of course. Cattle feeding has moved from our area to large feedlots out west, and hogs are raised in huge confinement facilities instead of on every farm. More than a few 4-H animals are the only livestock on the family spread. Most of the kids will not return to the farm, and when you think about it, putting hair spray on a cow is kind of silly. My kids will know about being a farmer, though, irrespective of what career they choose. They will know that the work has to be done, no matter how miserable the weather. They will know that profits are by no means a sure thing. They learned that lesson several years ago when one of our calves died two days before the show. The money they earn from their cattle feeding is earmarked for college, and will help pay their tuition just as my calves paid my way through school. Although I was glad that Ann's calf won, Julie and I had already won something far more valuable by watching our children work hard, complete a task, and work together as we all went to the fair.

Missouri farmer Blake Hurst writes regularly for The American Enterprise.

AT HOME IN AMERICA

by Ann Celine

A few years ago, our family left the center of a major city for a small town in the midwest. We left behind racial hostility, political corruption, dangerous public housing projects, economic parasitism, vile street language, and a plague of drug use and crime. We moved—part of a larger national exodus out of America's urban areas—feeling as if we needed to regroup and reclaim our faith in human nature. We had had too much experience with the frights that are now common inside large cities. We wanted a place where we could feel safer, more trusting, where we could reach out to strangers instead of recoiling. We wanted for ourselves and our children a more innocent life, like we had experienced growing up in small American towns three decades earlier.

We found a home in a quiet village neighborhood filled with families with children, singles, a couple of divorcees, and several households who could boast multiple generations of family members within the surrounding blocks. Our new community had what our previous one lacked—friendliness, whole families, sidewalks where children safely frolicked, a sense of peace and security, and neighborhood gatherings in which to celebrate these riches.

Our spirits, and outlook on America, have definitely revived. But in just the half-decade we've lived here our neighborhood has edged in discouraging directions. I wish I could say the new problems were part of a narrow, localized change. But the troubling developments in our little community are actually very familiar to us from our earlier

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experience. In truth, they are part and parcel of what has been happening in towns and cities all across our country.

Specifically, in our nearby stretch of a dozen houses we have recently seen ugly breakups of two families, both containing children under seven. Neither marriage was truly troubled; it was simple adultery that embittered the hearts and destroyed the homes. One family's house has been sold and the adults and children have moved on. In the other residence only a mother and two children remain. A "For Sale" sign is planted in the yard right where a year ago a happy toddler ran to greet her father at the end of his workdays.

Four adults and four children—divided and damaged. And the echoes have extended far beyond the affected households, to other families speculating on who will be next, to neighboring children who now go to bed wondering if they will someday face a similar abandonment, to adjoining homeowners concerned about who will move into the once-happy homes.

Meanwhile, our minister's son has produced a child out of wedlock, repeatedly defaulted on bank loans co-signed by his parents, and stopped visiting them. A friend across town with children had his wife walk out for no particular reason. And the local high school is experiencing a rash of racial fights.

We've also had a few crimes—a midday break-in at a neighbor's house where a favorite grandmother's ring was stolen, cars rifled though in the middle of the night. Minor stuff, but things that no one should have to put up with. Perhaps worse are the petty delinquencies of certain neighborhood children who are poorly (or never) supervised by their neglectful parents. One boy set fire to an old barn. A second poured water into a gas tank. A third carved a drawing into a brand-new vehicle parked on the street. Pranks, you may say. No, I answer, the acts of children whose parents give them hardly any attention or direction, in many cases because one of them is missing from the household.

Another dramatic transformation occurred with the death of our immediate neighbor, a kind octogenarian widow of a successful businessman. She had always tended her home and garden with loving care, but after she died her home passed to her alcoholic son, an ex-accountant now living on a disability check from the federal government. Not only did he do no maintenance on the place, he didn't even clean up after himself, pay the bills, take the garbage out (it accumulated to knee depth in the garage and cellar), or buy groceries (he literally lived mostly on beer).

IT TOOK THE DRUNKEN BABY BOOMER AND THE DEPRAVED GENERATION XER EXACTLY THREE YEARS TO LOSE THE FAMILY HOME.

Soon, this man's own son moved in. A child of divorce as well as alcoholism, this third-generation member of the family was a bankrupt, a criminal, and a heroin addict—embodying the deterioration of the clan in a grimly comprehensive way. He and the flunkie friends he attracted (via his tattoo business before its demise, and then his good fortune in gaining uncontrolled access to grandma's solid old house) lived as if their internal clocks were set on Australian time. Drinking parties regularly spilled onto the front porch at 3 or 4 a.m., while nary a soul could be found awake in the place at 3 p.m. The carousing sessions eventually deteriorated into loud fights, and soon it became clear that the kid was presiding over a flop house and shooting gallery. Meanwhile the old man was off in the drunk ward of a nearby Veterans Administration hospital half the time, and was terrorized by his son into acquiescence when back home. For those of us who were immediate neighbors, these developments presented an almost novelistic portrait of how quickly a solid family can dissolve into debauchery and death once personal virtue and family loyalty disappear.

It took the drunken baby boomer and the depraved generation Xer exactly three years to lose their once-immaculately-middle-class family home. At that point the seed corn of family assets that grandma and grandpa had stored away through a lifetime of industry was depleted. Taxmen, utility companies, the sheriff, and social service agencies were continually banging on the door with property liens and warrants. New owners eventually returned the homestead to respectability, but our fragile blue-collar neighborhood, whose decency literally hung in the balance for months, remains just one "bad house" away from turmoil.

We've learned many lessons from these events. My children are now aware of what alcohol can do to a life. And in between chatter about baseball and bike riding, some of the kids on the block now talk about how they really don't like their father's girlfriend's house, and how they wish they didn't have to go there again this weekend. All of these youngsters seem too young for this type of knowledge, yet it is virtually impossible to shield them from it. All we can do for our children is trace the consequences of the mistakes we see all around us, in the hope of warning them against committing such sins in their own lives.

Our situation here is vastly more wholesome than it was in the big city. But the sad news is, even in our quiet, picturesque little town, there is no immunity from the diseases of our modern culture. There is only less of the same.

In addition to the troubles I've described, I see many hopeful signs of social health. I am always cheered when a baby is born into a loving household, and there have been many of those on our street over the past three years. I'm filled with admiration whenever the extended family of our Indian immigrant neighbors arrive, coming from miles around in their best saris to celebrate a birthday. The cousins all call each other "brother" and "sister," and family is everything.

In my town and yours, there is lots going on that is good, and lots that is not. I just wish it were clearer who will ultimately win the battle now raging between the decent and pathological sides of American culture.

Ann Celine, who holds a master's degree in English, is a mother at home with three children.

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The Pentagon's 'Flat Panel Display' Boondoggle

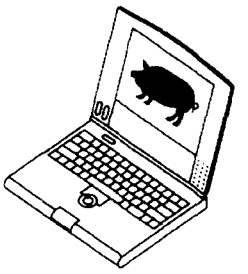
by Claude E. Barfield

Announced with great fanfare in 1994, the Clinton administration's $600 million program to support the manufacture of flat computer screens in the United States was to be the flagship of a futuristic industrial policy. The effort would subsidize, and if necessary protect from trade competition, high-technology sectors deemed important by government mandarins. And it would act primarily under the guise of national security concerns, linking liberal enthusiasm for technology subsidies with conservative pro-defense sentiments. The main result has been not at all futuristic or advanced: simply more military pork.

Flat-panel displays are thin electronic screens like those on laptop computers. The Defense Department foresees many battlefield uses for them in the future. By subsidizing their development the Clinton program hopes to create at least four large domestic production facilities that will capture at least 15 percent of the world market by the year 2000.

No U.S. firms currently produce flat-panel displays on a large scale. Japanese companies control over 90 percent of the world market, though Korean and Taiwanese companies have invested heavily in the technology in recent years. Various U.S. electronics firms—including Texas Instruments, Motorola, Compaq, Xerox, and AT&T—are conducting research, and AT&T and Xerox actually have demonstration projects. Several small firms—OIS, Planar Systems, Photonics Imaging, and ImageQuest—are engaged in advanced flat-display research. They would need larger partners, either domestic or foreign, to fund volume production.

Enter the Clinton administration. In the president's first year, administration officials were quite candid about the real aims of flat-panel programs. Staffers from the Council of Economic Advisers and the National Economic Council acknowledged in press interviews that the impetus came not from the military but from the White House, which hoped to enhance U.S. *civilian* competitiveness. "We need a business base" for flat displays, Clinton aide Bowman Cutter told the



Military Pork Meets the Clinton Industrial Policy

Wall Street Journal. The ultimate purpose of the initiative, administration officials made clear, was to create "a model of technological development that will equip U.S. companies to break into markets already seized by Japanese concerns." Corporate subsidies and governmental steering of business development, in other words.

Since the 1994 elections, however, and the arrival of a new Congress opposed to government manipulations of industries and markets, the administration has sharply changed the way it justifies its flat-display program. Spokesmen bristle at suggestions that the effort is motivated by anything other than purely defense needs. "Our national security demands that U.S. military forces have guaranteed, cost-effective access to the world's best technology.... Flat-panel displays appear on virtually every 'critical technology' list," wrote Kenneth Flamm, who until recently headed this program. Buying displays from Asians isn't safe, goes the argument. The U.S. needs its own producer.

Whether justified as backdoor industrial policy or vital national security measure, Clinton's flat-panel display initiative has so far survived the current Republican budget cutbacks. Defense Department programs tend to endure. Like hydra-headed monsters, they are hard to finish off even once they've been identified as dangerous. Critical questioning of this $600 million program is therefore in order.

1. Are there alternative sources of supply for the screens the Defense Department says it needs?

The administration claims the only sources are Japanese firms that have refused to cooperate in developing special battle-hardened versions of their commercial screens. This scenario doesn't withstand scrutiny. The United States provides the "defense umbrella" for Japan. If flat-panel technology were the crucial stumbling block to U.S. military strength that administration spokesmen would have us think, the president or Secretary of Defense could certainly achieve an agreement for joint development with Japanese companies. Though the leading Japanese manufacturer, Sharp, has a long history of avoiding military contracts, eight other Japanese companies have substantial flat-display production.

The administration has also refused to acknowledge burgeoning production in other countries—particularly in Korea, but also in Taiwan and Europe. Korea's Samsung Corp. has already invested over $1 billion in flat-display manufacturing, and expects to produce almost 500,000 screens per month by 1999. By 1997, Korea's Goldstar group will have sunk more than $600 million into production and will be churning out at least a million screens annually. And within a few

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years several Taiwanese companies will be producing 50,000-100,000 screens per month. In Europe, Philips will be making 100,000 displays per month in 1996. In short, our Defense Department will have an abundance of sources as military needs (slowly) arise in coming decades. "If the purpose of having an American flat-panel industry is to keep the Japanese honest and push prices down, the Koreans could probably accomplish that more quickly—and at less cost to Washington," a 1994 *New York Times* article noted.

2. Will the program achieve its goal of 15 percent of the world market by 2000?

Stanford Resources, a respected Silicon Valley research firm, has calculated that the flat-panel display industry requires about $1 of capital investment for every $1 of resulting revenue. The Clinton administration's program budgets $250 million in public money for research and production subsidies, and it assumes industry will kick in two to three times that amount. If so, funding would be $700-900 million. Meanwhile the flat-display market is projected to have a total value of between $20 and $40 billion in the year 2000. Holding 15 percent of that market would require between $3 billion and $6 billion in total investment. The Clinton program will fall far short of its intent.

Complicating the task of grabbing and holding 15 percent of the flat-display market is the fierce price competition that has emerged among the top players. As many technology observers predicted—to scoffs from Defense Department industrial policy enthusiasts—prices on flat displays have plunged over the past year (by about two-thirds) as Japanese and Korean firms have cranked up production. This is likely to continue, following the pattern of other electronic technologies. Which means it will be years before the manufacturers now building plants see any profits, if ever. Only heavy sustained public subsidies could keep a Defense Department-backed U.S. manufacturer alive under these conditions.

3. Couldn't far smaller efforts provide any U.S. defense needs?

Defense Department spokesmen insist that building a full-blown civilian flat-display industry is more cost-effective than making small expansions of existing pilot plants sufficient to guarantee a domestic supply of screens for defense uses. But given the Defense Department's minimal needs over the next two decades, its claims are suspect, and it has given no hard numbers to back them up. Even under the department's higher assumptions, the military will require only 15,000 displays annually until the year 2000, and then 25,000 annually through the year 2015. Only after 2015 do projected defense needs jump to 100,000. Current world production already exceeds 20 million screens a year. Within the next several years, existing pilot plants in the U.S. will be producing at least 80,000 units annually, and several new small plants will be coming on line.

4. Is the flat-panel initiative merely an extension of the methods the government already uses to fulfill the nation's defense needs?

Ken Flamm often cited this program as part of the Defense Department's shift to a "dual use" strategy, which aims to use existing civilian products rather than custom-built components in weapons systems, thus saving money. Actually, that is not what the program does at all. The Defense Department isn't just buying from civilian industry, it is actually trying to *create* a new civilian industry by manipulating markets it can then piggyback off of. That is an overly ambitious goal. Planning documents for the initiative show clearly that the department will be venturing into areas far beyond its national security competence—and beyond the competence of any government bureaucracy. These will include technology-picking, market development (including stimulation of consumer demand), and trade retaliation against other nations if they injure the infant industry with alleged predatory pricing. The result will be unprecedented intervention of the government into the industrial marketplace—intervention that has been disastrous in a number of other countries.

Recently, debate over the administration's initiative took an interesting twist. Shortly before it was closed for budgetary savings, Congress' Office of Technology Assessment published a detailed analysis of the program. Since OTA has long harbored proponents of government industrial policy, the first draft of the report's challenge to the fundamental premises of the administration's plan surprised most observers. The administration's claims about the importance of a domestic flat-panel display industry "are exaggerated and fail to address likely future circumstances that could significantly reduce the advantages of having such an industry", the report argued. Forcing U.S. manufacturing in that sector, the report concluded, would "require massive investments…and by no means ensure the United States a significant presence in this industry."

The document set off howls among industrial policy enthusiasts. Defense Department officials bombarded the OTA staff with material, demanded lengthy briefings, and worked to get the report changed or suppressed. They were joined by corporate lobbyists whose companies stood to benefit greatly from subsidization over the next few years. Skeptics willing to take the other side publicly were few and far between—as often happens when government welfare programs for corporations are being debated.

The result of this pressure is a curious final report, published in September. The bluntly skeptical conclusions have been turned into pabulum. But buried in innocuous language the damning evidence remains. The report clearly demonstrates that there will be multiple suppliers available to the Defense Department around the globe. It indicates that the administration's projections wildly underestimate how much it will cost for U.S. manufacturers to gain 15 percent of the world market. It makes clear that it will be years before any private startup plants could make profits. It shows that U.S. military needs can be met by existing and future output from small demonstration plants. And it warns that because of the pace of technological change it would be foolish for the Defense Department to bet the ranch on some existing production method.

The question now is whether the administration and the Defense Department will be able to bury these criticisms and hide funding deep enough in the Pentagon pork barrel to escape Republican budget cutting. With luck, after the big battles over Medicare and welfare reform end, some budget cutter will ferret out this and other corporate welfare boondoggles and give them the scrutiny they richly deserve.

Claude Barfield is a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute.

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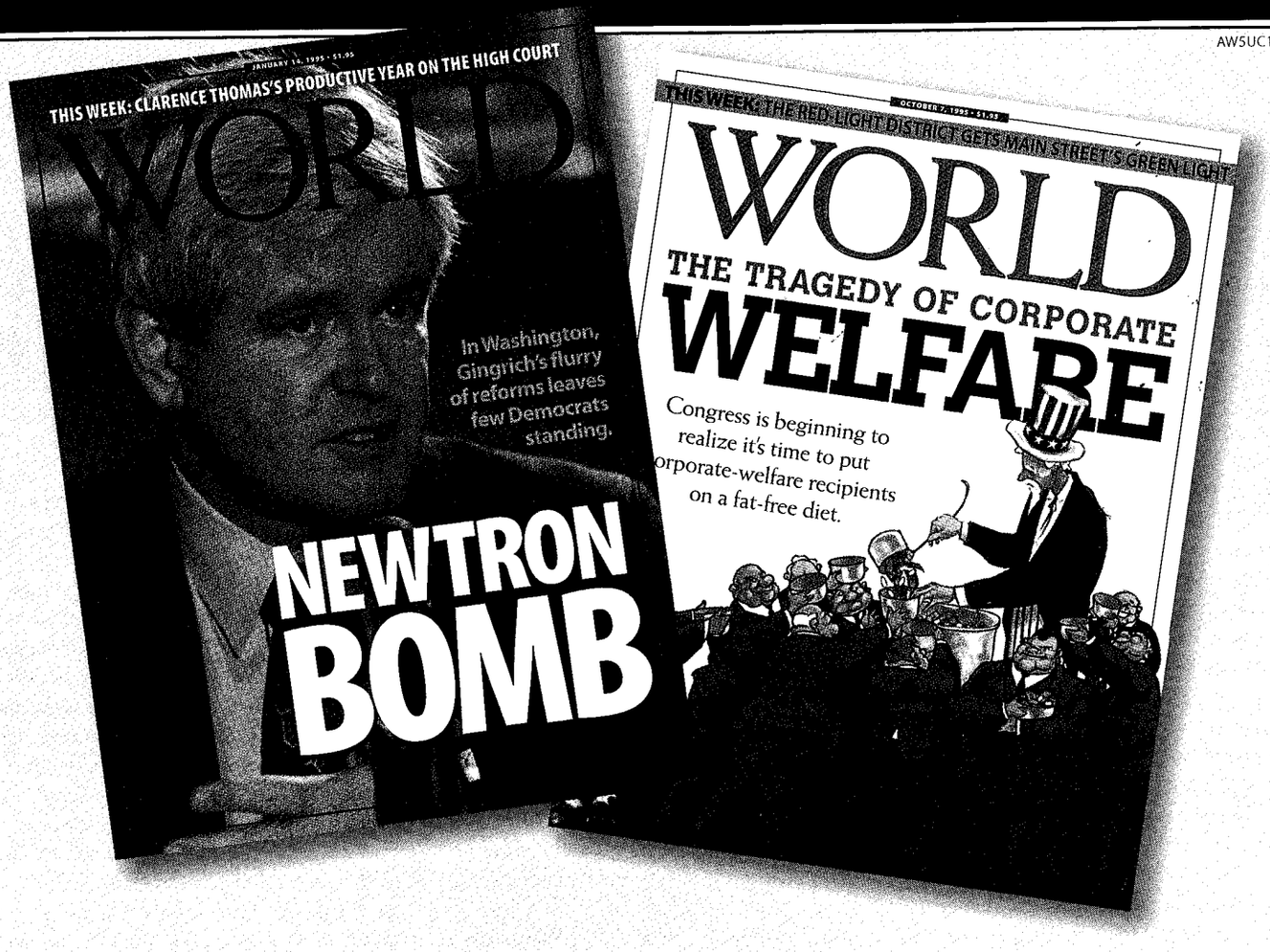

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the Science Economist

The False Alarm of 'Too Many Scientists'

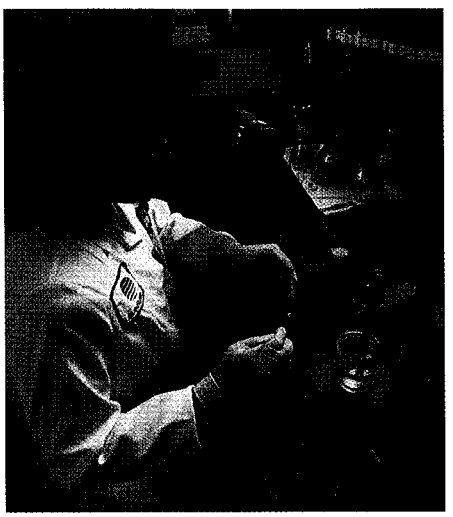
by Jagdish Bhagwati and Milind Rao

What a difference a few years makes. Until very recently, voices filled the air with complaints that the United States lacked adequate science talent. Now, suddenly, a widely-reported Stanford-RAND study has drawn an alarming picture of a *glut* of science & engineering Ph.D.s. Current S&E graduates, the study claims, have low prospects of getting suitable jobs, with perhaps one in four having to accept a position below the expected rung of university instructor or corporate researcher. Calls for reductions in science education have begun to be heard in the land. There are demands even to reduce foreign student admissions and to restrict the entry of foreign scientists to the United States.

But these demands are badly flawed. A benign, even beneficial, situation has been misportrayed by alarmists as something harmful. A "glut" of scientists and engineers is something we should welcome rather than deplore. Abundance makes talent available to increasing numbers of universities, research labs and corporations that otherwise could not access it.

Foreign students are in fact, at the heart of both the "glut" and its beneficial effects for the United States. Large proportions of the students coming out of American science and engineering graduate schools today are foreign students. The cause of this is a sharp increase in superbly trained and screened foreign applicants. These students study. They make valuable contributions in university labs. And because they generally end up as immigrants they add to the supply of talented scientific manpower in the country, which can only benefit the United States.

And the foreigners themselves also benefit, even in an oversupplied professional market. For the fact is, even a secondary position in the United States is usually going to be more stimulating and lucrative than working in their home country for many of the young scientists in question. Even deflated by the Stanford-RAND estimates of only a three-in-four chance of getting a "suitable" job, the returns to individual students and to the U.S. from graduate science education are quite attractive.



AMERICA DOES NOT HAVE TOO MANY SCIENTISTS AND ENGINEERS. THE HEAVY INFLUX OF FOREIGN TALENT IN THESE AREAS IS A SIGN OF OUR STRENGTH, NOT A PROBLEM.

First, the facts: In 1990, over 50 percent of the engineering Ph.D.s in the United States were awarded to foreign students. The figures are almost as high in mathematics, physics, chemistry, and computer science. More than eight out of every ten foreign graduate students in the U.S. is in a S&E program, with over half of these students coming from just four countries: Taiwan, China, Korea, and India.

The vast majority of these students are tremendously talented. From among the large populations in their home countries they are hand picked through mandarin-style entrance examinations for undergraduate study at their leading national universities and institutes. Their supply has increased substantially as the four countries named above have built up first-rate scientific and engineering programs, often with the help of America's best universities. Thus, for instance, about three-fourths of the U.S. engineering Ph.D.s recently awarded to Indians went to graduates of the prestigious institutes of technology there, while two-thirds of those going to South Koreans went to graduates of the famous Seoul National University. These gifted and splendidly trained students apply into our S&E programs and win a growing share of our admissions, which are based overwhelmingly on merit.

The explosion of superb foreign applicants to science and engineering programs has not been accompanied by similar increases among native-born Americans. In fact, there is some evidence that science and engineering programs have recently become slightly less attractive to our best native-born students. The "professional" schools of law, medicine, and business have substantially better starting salaries at present, and a small edge also in average rates of return. S&E graduate programs, on the other hand, are vastly more attractive to talented foreign students because most of them are cash-strapped, and professional

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schools, unlike S&E programs, offer little financial aid or paid research employment for graduate students.

The preponderance of foreign students in S&E programs has an important consequence in the technical job market—certain "gluts" are likely to persist. The traditional way in which such "gluts" are removed is simply by market forces: students walk away from education that yields low rates of return. But when foreign students are in the game, the market returns must fall more drastically before this happens. Even the currently diminished rates of return are unlikely to turn away foreign S&E students, because even these reduced rates return will be favorable compared to the compensation in their home countries. Thus, even if they must wind their way down to second-tier jobs at smaller colleges instead of MIT or Caltech, or less lucrative corporate positions, they will still do substantially better than had they stayed or returned home. This means that scientist and engineer gluts, and consequent gripes against universities, can be expected to continue.

But why should we take this as a problem? As these Ph.D.s eventually take jobs downstream, their expertise becomes available to institutions and firms that can benefit from superior talent and education at unexpectedly affordable prices. Economists have documented how such downstreaming improves national medical care, for instance, as doctors crowded into urban areas find their earnings falling and then begin to settle in rural areas. This should be a matter for satisfaction, not lament.

Should we be concerned that so many students are not native-born? Many, such as Phillip Griffiths of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton have been quoted as worrying about the preponderance of foreigners in graduate science and engineering programs. This concern is misplaced. Foreign graduate students typically stay on in this country. Indeed, the possibility of eventual immigration is often the reason why entering our graduate programs and working hard to acquire the education necessary for America's highly competitive labor market is attractive to talented foreigners in the first place.

Recent estimates suggest that nearly three-quarters of those trained in America remain in America. The final figure may be even higher, for some returnees (like the first author) initially go home only to return later to a rewarding professional life in the United States when circumstances permit. This inmigration of brainpower is a great bonus to our country. Consider that fully 50 percent of the assistant professors hired in engineering in the U.S. in 1992 were foreign-born.

PERHAPS THREE-QUARTERS OF THE FOREIGN STUDENTS TRAINED IN AMERICA REMAIN IN AMERICA. THIS IN-FLOW OF BRAINPOWER IS A GREAT BONUS TO OUR COUNTRY.

Yet even if it is clear that the arrival of foreign science and engineering students is a boon to the United States as a whole, one might worry that particular subgroups of the population could be hurt by the competition. Some black educators have made the specific argument that foreign students in Ph.D. programs are crowding out blacks. An example would be Frank Morris writing in the *Urban League Review* in 1993. Since total black Ph.D.s have tapered off while those awarded to foreign students have shot up, advocates seek restraints on foreign acceptances.

The facts on black higher education, particularly in the sciences, are indeed disappointing. The remedy of excluding foreign applicants, however, is unwarranted. For one thing, the number of native-born Americans in S&E Ph.D. programs has not declined. As increasing numbers of foreign students have arrived, native enrollments have held constant over the last 30 years at around 13,000 annually.

As for financial "crowding out," it is true that 60 percent of all foreign graduate students in the U.S. are aided financially by their university, much higher than the 25 percent of black graduate students so helped. But the reason for this differential is the very different fields of study chosen, on average, by the two groups. Fully 81 percent of foreign graduate students are in science and engineering programs—where almost all students are wholly supported by their university (mainly through assistantships in funded research projects). On the other hand, black graduate students are overwhelmingly enrolled in the field of education and in humanities programs where there is much less aid. Eliminate the field of study difference and blacks do immensely better. Over 70 percent of the black graduate students in the physical sciences, for instance, receive substantial aid from their universities.

A final reason for caution is that the number of blacks within science and engineering graduate programs has actually increased in the last two decades, both in total and as a fraction of all black Ph.D.s. The main problem facing blacks in the field of science and engineering today is the small and shrinking pool of the blacks with bachelors degrees in science. The number of blacks securing bachelors in science and engineering fell from 18,700 in 1975 to 18,400 in 1990, even as the total number of these degrees awarded was on the increase. The gnawing problem of too few blacks in scientific graduate programs has causes and solutions quite unrelated to the arrival of foreign students.

The intelligent and highly motivated foreign students who come to this country for scientific education and then "stay on" in large numbers assimilate readily, becoming indistinguishable from native-born Americans, who are themselves ethnically diverse. The scientific eminence of the United States thus reflects a virtuous circle: the best and the brightest from around the world are attracted to our universities, and they in turn help make our universities world class.

This heavy influx of talent is a sign of our strength, not of a problem or weakness. To dam the scientific inflow instead of removing the debris that clogs the streams would be folly.

Jagdish Bhagwati is a visiting scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, and Arthur Lehman professor of economics at Columbia University. Milind Rao is associate professor of economics at Colgate University.

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Flashback

To know nothing of what happened before you were born is to remain ever a child—*Cicero*

The Last Republican Dark Horse

UPI/BETTMAN

In her diary entry of June 28, 1940, Anne Morrow Lindbergh rejoiced at the news from the GOP convention. "Willkie gets the Republican nomination! I don't know much about him but it seems wonderful that a man who is not a politician could get it, and also NOT a die-hard conservative. At least he knows we cannot turn backwards and has some conception of the forces of the future."

Mrs. Lindbergh was not alone in hailing the nomination of Wendell Lewis Willkie, the barefoot boy from Wall Street, the fixture of the Eastern establishment who was transmogrified, almost overnight, from a liberal utilities executive into a charismatic "outsider" who was "above politics." (We might even say he transcended the race .)

The choleric Henry L. Mencken marveled that the nomination "was shot through with evidences of a miracle. At one time I actually saw an angel in the gallery... To be sure, the angel had on a palm beach suit, but nevertheless it was clearly an angel." Even the queen of spleen herself, Ayn Rand, gushed that Willkie was "an outspoken and courageous defender of free enterprise."

In the words of Lou Reed, "it just goes to show how wrong you can be."

Wendell Willkie was a bright and ambitious fellow from Elwood, Indiana (though he "hadn't been back since he was a pup," according to Alice Roosevelt Longworth) who became a corporation lawyer and eventually president of Commonwealth and Southern, a utility octopus. Until 1938 he was an FDR Democrat whose only serious disagreement with the New Deal came, not surprisingly, over the matter of public ownership of utilities.

As the 1940 Republican convention approached, the nomination seemed likely to go to one of two midwestern Senators: Robert Taft of Ohio or Arthur Vandenberg of Michigan. Both proposed to scale back the New Deal; each was an isolationist who vowed to keep American boys out of the European war. It seemed that in this election the Republican and Democratic candidates would offer starkly different visions of America's role in the world and the state's role in everyday life. But then along came Tweedledee.

The media titans—the Luce empire, *The New York Times* and *Herald Tribune*—discovered amidst the cornstalks of Manhattan a plain-spoken man of the people named Wendell Willkie. He was, according to *Fortune,* "the Mississippi Yankee, the clever bumpkin, the homespun, rail-splitting, cracker-barrel simplifier of national issues." (His luxury apartment on Fifth Avenue escaped mention.)

This gush filled the national press for months, prompting the disgusted Rep. Usher Burdick (R-ND) to say, "There is nothing to the Willkie boom for president except the artificial public opinion being created by newspapers, magazines, and the radio."

Tens of thousands of "We Want Willkie" telegrams—many sent by phantom names living at nonexistent addresses—flooded the homes of Republican muckamucks. "Willkie," jested Mrs. Longworth, "sprang from the grass roots of a thousand country clubs." And on the sixth ballot, the nomination was his.

As the campaign wore on, Republican mouths dropped. Willkie endorsed virtually the whole New Deal and the Roosevelt foreign policy. He offered only his non-politician pedigree and a vague promise of "a higher standard of life than we have ever dreamed of before." As Norman Thomas remarked, "He agreed with Mr. Roosevelt's entire program... and said it was leading to disaster."

"Where is the fellow who wants a change going to go?" asked the Jeffersonian Democrat Rep. Louis Ludlow of Indiana. Certainly not into the Willkie column. Willkie won the endorsement of *The New York Times*—and just 82 electoral votes.

Even confirmed Roosevelt-haters deserted the Republicans. John Dos Passos, who had earlier vowed, "I'll never vote for Mr. Roosevelt again, not if the devil himself runs against him," cast a reluctant ballot for FDR, explaining: "I felt that I did not have a proper choice."

Within weeks of the November trouncing, Willkie took to the hustings to campaign for FDR's lend-lease bill; the president even offered him a position in the administration. He spent the rest of his short life (he died in 1944) castigating those mossback Republicans who didn't understand that "any national administration in a modern complex industrial society must exercise vast powers." He wrote a book, *One World,* whose internationalism was so extreme as to make Woodrow Wilson look like Pat Buchanan. Barely a year after Anne Morrow Lindbergh's rhapsodies, Willkie was slandering her husband Charles.

But at least the Willkie disaster taught Republicans to be suspicious of nonpartisan celebrities whose presidential aspirations are promoted by Eastern seaboard media.

—Bill Kauffman

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BookTalk

CAPTAIN KIRK

by Martin Morse Wooster

The Sword of Imagination: Memoirs of a Half-Century of Literary Conflict
By Russell Kirk (Eerdmans: Grand Rapids), 481 pages, $35

The late Russell Kirk (1918-1994) was a flawed giant of American conservatism. He repeatedly denounced "chirping sectaries," but wasted far too much of his time attacking fellow right-wingers, particularly neoconservatives and libertarians. And Kirk never understood or appreciated capitalism. When he was ten, Kirk explains, he avidly read the three Detroit newspapers every day. "He took a precocious interest in political news," Kirk writes, "but ignored the financial pages—as, indeed, he has endeavored to ignore them ever since." (Like his heroes, Albert Jay Nock and Henry Adams, Kirk refers to himself in his memoirs in the third person.)

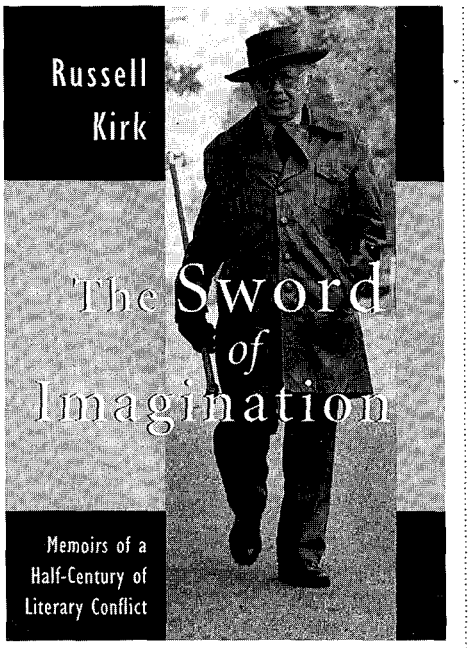
But Kirk's virtues were far greater than his flaws. Foremost among them was his independence. Though Kirk taught as a visiting professor in scores of places, his home always was Piety Hill in Mecosta, Michigan, home of his grandparents and the place where he felt rooted. Far too many conservatives feel compelled to abandon their heritage and move to New York or Washington to be near wealth or power; to his credit, Kirk resisted that temptation.

Kirk also deserves credit for being one of the few conservatives also able to write excellent fiction. Among his many books are three novels and two collections of short stories. Though Kirk's novels don't succeed, his short horror fiction, particularly the stories collected in *The Princess of All Lands* (1979), are among the best supernatural tales of the twentieth century.

Because Kirk spent most of his life in Mecosta, *The Sword of Imagination* is a far different book than most political memoirs. There's surprisingly little about the conservative movement in *The Sword of Imagination.* The only national political race Kirk participated in was Barry Goldwater's 1964 presidential campaign, so he has very little to say about elections, though one of his more interesting chapters describes Kirk's impressions of famous politicians he knew, including Richard Nixon, Herbert Hoover, and Eugene McCarthy. (Kirk, who voted for McCarthy in 1976, describes him as "the most interestingly complex of all recent aspirants to the presidency.")

Nor does Kirk spend much time discussing his fellow conservatives. Kirk certainly knew most of the leaders of the conservative movement, and many scholars visited Piety Hill, either as guests or as participants in seminars Kirk gave from the late '70s onwards. But many important right-wing figures of Kirk's era are scarcely mentioned at all, probably because of feuds that still simmered decades later. "Kirk had little in common with some of the people on *National Review's* masthead—on which he declined to have his name appear," he writes. "Not much united *National Review's* editors and regular contributors except their detestation of collectivism."

The most serious omission in *The Sword of Imagination* is the lack of any discussion of why Kirk produced his major late works, such as *Eliot and His Age* (1971) and *The Roots of American Order* (1975). Kirk spends more time telling which reviewers liked *The Roots of American Order* than he does explaining his reasons for writing it. Kirk does, however, spend several important pages discussing the origins



of *The Conservative Mind* (1953).

If *The Sword of Imagination* is an accurate guide, Kirk's friends were more important to him than his political beliefs. Some of these friends, such as Thomas Molnar and Ernest van den Haag, are prominent conservative figures, but Kirk's deepest friendships had little to do with politics. Kirk devotes a chapter to the Scottish aristocrats he met while studying for his doctorate at St. Andrews University in the early 1950s. (Kirk had a fondness for aristocrats, and particularly admired Archduke Otto von Hapsburg, son and heir of the last Austro-Hungarian Emperor.) And Kirk devotes several pages to a description of a hobo named Clifton Wallace, whom Kirk transformed into the hero of his most important short story, "There's a Long, Long Trail A-Winding."

In his concluding chapter, Kirk notes three major accomplishments in his life: an honorable marriage, a stalwart defense of tradition, and "a life of decent independence, living much as his ancestors did, on their land." But the principal lesson Kirk's life and work teach is respect for the past. Too many conservatives, particularly young ones, lack that respect, believing conservatism to be a blank slate limned by the presidency of Ronald Reagan. Reading Kirk—and the political philosophers he admired—is a good way to appreciate the great minds of earlier generations.

Kirk's conservatism is, of course, an incomplete political philosophy, needing the

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fortification of an appreciation of capitalism and economics. Nor can Kirk's factionalism be recommended to his intellectual heirs. But *The Sword of Imagination* demonstrates that conservatism is something more complex than simply the unleashing of market forces.

Associate Editor Martin Morse Wooster wrote the entry on Russell Kirk for The Encyclopedia Horrifica. *He attended a Piety Hill Seminar in 1989.*

DOES AMERICA HAVE TOO MUCH DEMOCRACY?

By Jeffrey R. Snyder

The Road to Mass Democracy: Original Intent and the Seventeenth Amendment by C.H. Hoebeke (Transaction: New Brunswick), 196 pages, $29.95

C.H. Hoebeke, a historian at the University of South Carolina, has written a very fine, impassioned, and insightful book on the course of a destructive political idea that is only being further entrenched by today's conservative revolution. By happenstance, Mr. Hoebeke's work arrives at a time when Colin Powell has declined to run for the presidency, and many Americans are lamenting the possibility that the rigors of running for office are discouraging the best and most honest Americans from political service. *The Road to Mass Democracy* lucidly explains how mass democracy has brought us to this pass, and why there is no solution to this problem through further "democratic" reforms.

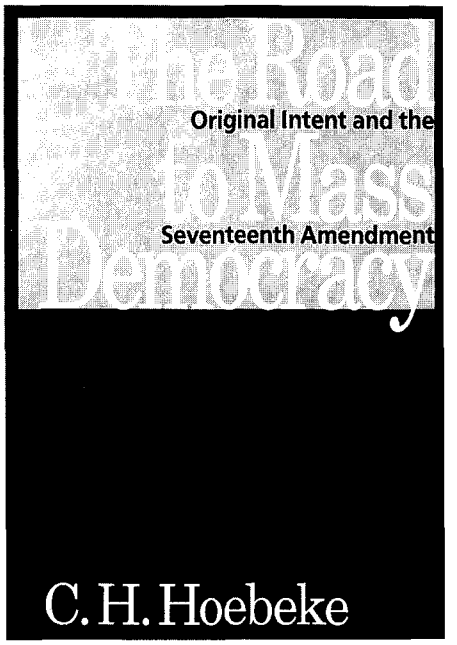
When the Founders met in 1787 to scrap the Articles of Confederation and write the new Constitution, a principal goal, according to Mr. Hoebeke, was to build institutional barriers to the dangers of democracy. In the period following the end of the War for Independence, these evils had manifested themselves in very popular programs of state confiscation of the Royalist property, and unilateral renunciation of government war debts.

Intended as a restraint upon both the rough-and-tumble democracy of the lower House and "the ambition of the executive," the Senate was conceived as a "great anchor of the government." The institution was expected to withstand interest pressures and act as a restraint upon ill-conceived desires of the people by virtue of the length of a senator's term and, more importantly, the means of his election. The Constitution provided that senators would be selected by their state legislatures. This indirect method of election insulated senators from popular pressure. It also preserved the authority of state governments within the federal system.

"The theory," as was noted later, "was that the legislature of the state should look all over the state, bound by no consideration of party, restrained by no obligation of any kind except the duty of selecting the wisest, the bravest, and the purest man for senator." The office was to seek the man, the man did not seek the office, and state legislators typically chose among men of good character and probity who were known personally to them. This theory was, of course, the same one embodied in our method of indirect election of the president through an electoral college.

The seeds of the eventual full democratization of senatorial election were sown by the expansion of the franchise, the transformation of the electoral college into a system for merely ratifying the popular vote, and the development of the referendum, the recall and the primary system, each of which played a role in making the state and federal governments more "responsive" to the demands of the people. The final step came in 1913, with ratification of the 17th Amendment to the Constitution, which provided for direct election of senators by the people.

As part of his story, Hoebeke traces the "myth of progressive reform." Reformers continually failed to see that government abuses and excesses—for example, pork-barrel public works projects—weren't aberrations to be blamed on "special interests," but rather were the inevitable result of a government overly responsive to the shifting whims of the people. The Progressive remedy for these faults was always more direct participation of "the people" in politics, and more restrictions on the authority of representatives. The Progressives never understood, as the Founders did, that there are no "People" who will perfectly express the common interest if only allowed to participate directly in the affairs of government. They did not consider that an electorate is nothing but "special interests."



With passage of the 17th Amendment, the federal government was transformed directly into a mass democracy. Hoebeke debunks the standard justification of the amendment as a means of by-passing the hold that the wealthy "robber barons" of the Gilded Age had over state legislatures. This claim, Hoebeke points out, is disproved by the very rapidity and ease with which the amendment was ratified by the self-same state legislatures supposedly controlled by those interests. "Few amendments have been more quickly ratified," he notes.

The debates over the amendment in the Senate are, as described by Hoebeke, heartbreaking. It very quickly became clear exactly what was going to be lost by passage of the measure. Against the eloquent, principled arguments of the "old guard" senators—towering figures like Elihu Root of New York and Weldon Brinton Heyburn from Idaho, men who understood the principles upon which the Constitution was erected and strove to maintain them—progressives insisted simply that the institution was not "responsive" enough, and that the people wanted this change.

Henceforth, what "the people" wanted was quickly to become what the federal government was all about. The business of the House and now the Senate was simply to gauge public appetites, register the desired goodies, and then pursue them through the statute books. Needless to say, this reform did not achieve the benefits its

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promoters had promised. Money and monied interests became an even greater factor in the election of senators, as it became necessary to raise sufficient funds to wage a popular campaign. The progressive battle cry for continued reforms to stop the "special interests" from manipulating the legislative process continued unabated right up to the present, with little recognition that all of these efforts are, as Hoebeke puts it, merely endeavoring to cure the evils of democracy with more democracy.

Early on, Hoebeke quotes John Adams's assertion that every variation of government "has been found to be no better than committing the lamb to the custody of the wolf, except that one which is called a balance of power. A simple sovereignty in one, a few, or many has no balance, and therefore no laws." In disenfranchising the states and providing for the direct election of senators, after earlier effecting the popular election of presidents, Americans removed the final constitutional barrier to simple sovereignty by the people—and leapt toward government not by law, but by plebiscite.

Jeffrey Snyder is an attorney practicing in New York City.

THE DUKE OF ALL

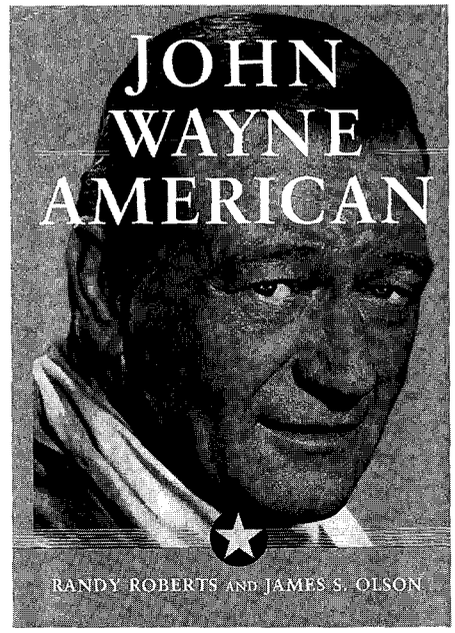
By Bill Kauffman

John Wayne: American
by Randy Roberts and James S. Olson (Free Press: New York) 738 pages, $27.50.

Marion Morrison was born in Madison County, Iowa, to a westering family that left the covered bridges for the palm trees of Southern California. His father was an affable if often impecunious pharmacist, his mother was a shrew, and at age 11 Marion traded in his sissy forename for the more formidable "Duke." He thus became the namesake of his faithful pet Airedale.

At Glendale Union High the brainy and brawny Duke was salutatorian, head of the debate squad, a chess whiz, and star of the football team. In this latter capacity he earned a football scholarship to USC. College football didn't pay as well in the 1920s as it does today, so Duke picked up pocket money as an extra and "glorified furniture mover" at Fox Studios.

A shoulder separation ended his Trojan career, and the prospect of "writing briefs in somebody's back room for people who aren't as smart as I am" soured him on his prelaw studies, so the strapping tackle quit USC to work as a property man for a talented martinet named John Ford, whose films would later turn Marion into myth.



His big break came in 1930, when Raoul Walsh cast him in *The Big Trail.* The film failed, but at least Duke got a new name out of it: director Walsh, a history buff, suggested Anthony Wayne; when that was deemed "too Italian" Duke Morrison became John Wayne.

Wayne served his apprenticeship in the "B" Westerns of the '30s, in which he looks very much like a USC football lug who stumbled out of a time warp and into chaps. But he was learning. As the actor later recalled, "many of the Western stars of the twenties and thirties were too perfect. They never drank nor smoked. They never wanted to go to bed with a beautiful girl. They never had a fight...I was trying to play a man who gets dirty, who sweats sometimes, who enjoys kissing a gal he likes, who gets angry, who fights clean whenever possible but will fight dirty if he has to. I made the Western hero a roughneck."

A decade of assembly-line westerns prepared Wayne for his breakthrough role as the Ringo Kid in John Ford's *Stagecoach* (1939), in which, the authors note, "the basic screen persona of John Wayne" is established: "a lean, tough loner, impatient with small talk and small matters, willing to implement justice and protect the weak." The languidly confident walk; the halting speech, with its oddly spaced and pregnant pauses; and two of the most expressive eyes on celluloid: it all comes together in Stagecoach and the classics that were to follow: *Red River, Fort Apache, The Searchers, The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance, True Grit,* and *The Shootist.*

Roberts and Olson describe the standard Wayne character as "the outsider, a man of few words, vaguely distrusted by marshals and other representatives of authority but affectionately regarded by average Americans. He is armed and alone, ready to defend the defenseless but not to join any established community. Above all else, he prizes his independence. In a crisis he can be counted on by decent people—his Winchester will always be on the side of justice—but during all other times he simply wants to be left alone."

Duke wanted to be left alone in 1941. While Jimmy Stewart was leading B-24 raids, Wayne was bedding Marlene Dietrich and out-drinking Ward Bond. "He would become a 'superpatriot' for the rest of his life," wrote his estranged third wife, "trying to atone for staying at home" during World War II.

Wayne's guilt over not serving later drove him toward a cartoonish jingoism that would reach its nadir in *The Green Berets* (1968). "I think *The Green Berets* will help re-elect LBJ because it shows that the war in Vietnam is necessary," he told *Variety* in 1967. Memorable and iconic when inhabiting men of the West, Wayne was a dreadful parody when he turned to agitprop. He even weighed down Davy Crockett and Jim Bowie with lumpish Cold War allegory in his sprawling mess *The Alamo* (1960).

Biographers Roberts and Olson have done a fine workmanlike job, though they ought not to have recapitulated so many moldy movie reviews. (Imagine reading Vincent Canby in the year 2040.) *John Wayne: American* is spiced with the odd facts and amusing Hollywoodisms that are essential to the star bio. For instance:

—Duke had an unerring knack for guessing ladies' dress sizes.

—George Wallace asked him to be his

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running mate in 1968, but Duke declined, opting for Nixon and Wallis (Hal, who produced *True Grit*).

—Jack Warner said of the slam-bang director of Wayne's first big picture: "To Raoul Walsh a tender love scene is burning down a whorehouse."

Like the men he played, Duke lived pretty much as he wished, except for an excruciatingly painful death. The details of his trio of mesalliances—all with Hispanic women—make for a dispiriting read, but the authors insist "over the course of his life, Duke would walk out on three marriages, but he never failed a friend."

His favorite actress, Maureen O'Hara, said as he lay dying, "John Wayne is not just an actor and a very fine actor. John Wayne is the United States of America." No, John Wayne was California: always moving, never stopping, drunk on booze and possibilities, a boon companion, unfaithful to his wives and neglectful of his children but sincerely regretting it—yet at the same time creating and inhabiting the single most enduring and resonant screen presence in the history of American films.

Associate Editor Bill Kauffman is the author of Every Man A King, Country Towns Of New York, *and* America First!

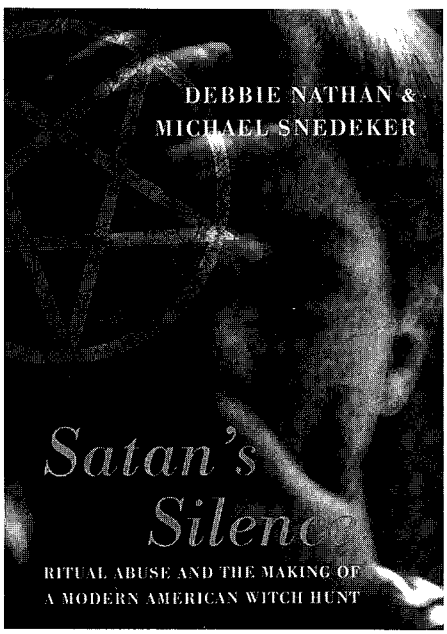
WITCH-HUNTING

by Seth Farber

Satan's Silence: Ritual Abuse and the Making of a Modern American Witch-Hunt By Debbie Nathan and Michael Snedeker (Basic Books: New York) 288 pages, $25

Judged as a work of scholarship and investigative reporting, this meticulous and riveting book by Debbie Nathan and Michael Snedeker on America's satanic child abuse scare is superb. In their more ambitious attempt to analyze the causes of our modern witch-hunt, however, the authors resort, unconvincingly, to crudely blaming sexist society.

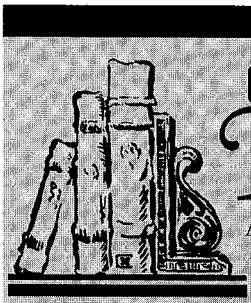
In the introductory chapters the authors identify some of the developments in the 1970s that laid the foundation for the witch-hunt of the 1980s. The feminist movement brought incest and other forms of sexual abuse into public discourse. The therapeutic approach to sexual crimes replaced the criminal approach, which undermined the protections of due process and endowed therapists with an inordinate degree of power, which they shamelessly abused as the authors demonstrate. Gradually, a childhood sex-abuse industry was created that directed lots of money from gov-



ernment agencies to social workers and psychologists, and provided an incentive for inventing new techniques of interviewing children that effectively implanted false memories of abuse in young minds.

A salient feature of the modern witch-hunts, like the witch-hunts of previous eras, was that individuals were convicted in the absence of genuine evidence of guilt. Although children's revelations seemed to indicate wrongdoing, the authors note that judges and juries were almost never given the opportunity to hear from the accusers directly. "Videotaped interviews...show that when children were allowed to speak freely, either they had nothing to say about abuse or they denied that it ever happened to them." After examining hundreds of transcripts, the authors conclude "there is not one spontaneous disclosure of abuse.... In case after ritual-abuse case...cassettes are filled with the voices of adults urging children to recover repressed memories, leading them, bribing and threatening them, in order to obtain confirmation of preconceived notions about the guilt of the accused."

The real perpetrators of evil were not



off The Shelf

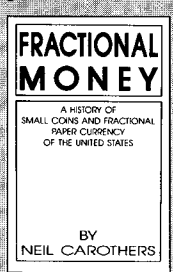
A REGULAR REVIEW OF CLASSIC, OVER-LOOKED, NEWLY RELEVANT OR OTHERWISE DESERVING OLDER BOOKS

SHORTCHANGED BY THE GOVERN-MINT

by R.W. Bradford

Fractional Money: A History Of The Small Coins And Fractional Paper Currency of the United States By Neil Carothers (Bowers & Merena: Wolfeboro, New Hampshire), 392 pages, $19.95

The history of American coinage is the history of government incompetence and chicanery. Neil Carothers tells the story with scholarship and panache in *Fractional Money*, originally published in 1930. *Fractional Money* is much more than a history of pocket change. It is the story of how the U.S. government mismanaged its money so badly that for nearly the first century of nationhood, Americans had virtually nothing resembling a uniform circulating currency.



Coins played a far more important role in commerce in the past than today. Paper money was not issued by the federal government until the Civil War, and for the next half-century it played a relatively minor role. Only with the creation of the Federal Reserve System in 1914 and its growing power in succeeding years did the U.S. dollar become a paper commodity, backed only by the promises of politicians.

Before then, the dollar was a unit of metal. But what metal? In the late eighteenth century, two metals were com-

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monly used in coins: gold and silver. Each was easily minted, fairly scarce, and valued for its beauty, thus suitable for coinage. The U.S. monetary unit was defined as a fixed amount of either of the two.

Bimetallism failed, as it always fails, for a very good reason. In the real world, the prices of all commodities fluctuate constantly. The amount of gold that is equal in value to one ounce of silver today will be a bit more or less tomorrow. Government can no more legislate the price of gold in terms of silver than it can legislate the price of anything else. The early history of American coinage is the history of politicians' failure to understand this simple fact.

In 1792, the first American coinage law specified that one ounce of gold would have the same value as 15 ounces of silver. This ratio reflected market conditions at the time, but market conditions changed. By the end of the decade, the value of gold had increased slightly, so that a ten-dollar gold piece contained about $10.50 worth of the metal, thereby driving all gold coins from circulation. The silver dollar didn't fare much better. Although intended to approximate the silver content of the Spanish dollar (as minted in Mexico), the coin actually contained slightly less metal. However, the difference was small and the U.S. coin attractive, so it was accepted at par in the West Indies. Yankee traders quickly learned that they could swap their U.S. dollars for the heavier Spanish dollars in the Indies, then take the Spanish dollars to the U.S. Mint and have them recoined (at no cost to themselves) into a larger quantity of U.S. dollars, which they could take to the Indies to swap for even more Spanish dollars. This endless chain was cut in 1804 when Jefferson ordered the Mint to stop the manufacture of silver dollars altogether.

For the next 30 years, the only coin issued by the Mint in any quantity was the silver half-dollar. But thanks to the Mint's limited appropriations and its obligation to strike coins at no charge, the number of half-dollars minted was so small that it was used mainly as a reserve currency by banks.

As the market ratio between gold and silver fluctuated during the next 60 years, either gold or silver coins were inevitably driven from circulation, leaving the nation with only half a currency system that simply failed to meet the demands of commerce. The nation continued to get by as it had prior to independence, with a motley variety of tokens and foreign coins, interrupted by the occasional circulation of U.S. coins.

Typical of the inefficiency of government money-making was the 1851 minting of tiny three-cent silver coins, authorized by Congress to facilitate the sale of postage stamps. At the time, silver was overvalued and had been driven from circulation, but through a Congressional oversight the three-centers (nicknamed "fish scales") contained less silver than other silver coins and thus could circulate as subsidiary coinage. These quickly became virtually the only non-gold coins in circulation: Carothers cites newspaper accounts of people paying for an inexpensive item with a $5 gold piece and receiving a ladle of more than a hundred of the tiny coins as change.

The inflation of the Civil War drove all coins from circulation. (They were replaced with lightweight tokens and postage stamps.) It was not until the general revision of the coinage laws in 1873 that a sensible (i.e. *monometallic*) system of money was created, and then only by accident. As a result of lobbying by competing interest groups and sheer serendipity, Congress abolished the standard silver dollar, and with it, bimetallism.

Only five years later, silver mining interests and advocates of inflation pressured Congress into requiring the Mint to renew its manufacture of silver dollars in limited quantities. These new silver dollars proved as unpopular with the public as earlier issues, circulating mostly in small quantities in silver-mining areas and among illiterates. As long as Congress required the Mint to manufacture silver dollars, most were simply shipped to the Treasury for storage, never serving as circulating coins.

Carothers writes with clarity and wit, and the story he tells is both enlightening and amusing. Over the past 25 years I have several times turned to his book as a reference, only to be seduced into rereading lengthy passages—or even the entire story.

R.W. Bradford is editor and publisher of Liberty.

demonic child abusers but therapists carving out lucrative careers, policemen who deferred to the therapists' authority, journalists seeking headlines, and well-meaning parents who—trusting the guidance of the experts—implanted in their own children false memories of abuse. Throughout the 1980s, the authors note, only a handful of dissidents in the mental health profession and in the press raised their voices in protest against these trends.

It is in their concluding chapter that the authors are at their weakest. Though it was the federal government that subsidized the witch-hunts of the 1980s, readers are warned that the federal bureaucracy must be the main instrument of reform. Furthermore, we are told that "patriarchy" and sexual inequality engendered the child abuse panic. This is absurd. If ritual sex abuse was "a symbolic focus for women's anger over gender inequality at work and at home" why were almost half the defendants women? And why were most of the targets teachers in schools and day care centers—institutions that enabled women to escape from the "patriarchal family"? And why did this panic occur in a decade when the cultural and economic disparities between men and women were being sharply reduced?

Despite their enthrallment to certain conventionalisms of political correctness, the authors have provided a valuable warning against state-licensed mental health experts who, under the guise of behavioral science, acted as catalysts of the collective psychosis in the 1980s.

Seth Farber is a psychologist and the author of Madness, Heresy and the Rumor of Angels: The Revolt Against the Mental Health System.

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Author, Author!

BY FLORENCE KING

John Kenneth Gasbag

UPI/Bettmann

Ike's grin notwithstanding, the Fifties were the Killjoy Decade. Americans had a lot of fun and money, but liberal intellectuals kept churning out books about how miserable prosperity was making us, how soft we were getting, what spendthrift, tail-finned, complacent, other-directed idiots we had become.

The loftiest of the prosperity critics was Harvard economist John Kenneth Galbraith. In the fall of 1957, just as he was about to publish *The Affluent Society*, the Soviets launched Sputnik and shamed America out of her complacency. Galbraith, whose publishers had been expecting his usual small sale, was launched into unaccustomed bestsellerdom. As he wrote in the foreword of a later edition: "No action was ever so admirably timed. Had I been younger and less formed in my political views, I would have been carried away by my gratitude and found a final resting place beneath the Kremlin Wall. I knew my book was home."

Sputnik-chastened America tried to read *The Affluent Society* but it was no use. Galbraith writes "little tomes"; i.e., his books are short but we must read each sentence six times. Coping with his literary style is like trying to keep your hood ornament on the white line during a snowstorm, like trying to follow Ariadne through the labyrinth after she has run out of thread.

Students have an especially hard time keeping their minds on his invertebrate prose. By some fiendish twist of Fate, they seem to get Galbraith assignments when they have just broken up with their Significant Others or discovered that their roommate is a kleptomaniac. At such times only snappy, attention-grabbing sentences will stick, but John Kenneth Galbraith scrupulously avoids writing them.

Samuel Insull: "The best guarantee of efficiency is a long line at the factory gate."

JKG: "The more retrograde an economy becomes, the more service improves."

Thomas Hobbes: "The life of man is solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short."

JKG: "Those afflicted have such limited and insufficient food, such poor clothing, such crowded, cold and dirty shelter that life is painful as well as comparatively brief."

His most recent book, *The Culture of Contentment* (1992), contains 195 pages of toothpaste waiting to be put back into a tube. Here is how he describes bureaucrats who toot their own horn:

"The power attributed to the cabinet secretary recently arrived in office with no previous experience in his or her now-assigned task or to the corporate chief executive officer now rewarded for an orderly and disciplined performance in the ranks is subject to an exaggeration to which those so celebrated happily and even diligently contribute."

The culture of contentment Galbraith examines here is the affluent society he examined in 1957: same people, same book. The only difference is an even greater propensity for stating the obvious:

"The government of the United States in recent years has been a valid reflection of the economic and social preferences of the majority of those voting—the electoral majority ... Housing and food the comfortably situated provide for themselves as a matter of course ... Individuals with insured bank accounts ranging up to $100,000 have, generally speaking, more money than those who do not."

He frequently combines self-evident statements with lawyerese: "The Republican Party in the United States is the accepted representative of the comfortable and contented, the effective instrument of the economic principles and political behavior patterns hitherto identified therewith."

At other times he says nothing, gnostically: "Thus the chance is that recessions and the causative speculation will continue to be self-corrective just as error continues, with time, to subsume error. But neither can the possibility of enduring recession or depression be ruled out. Of some things we do not know."

He has a penchant for awkward words (*ineluctable, desuetude*), negative constructions (salaries are "not inconsiderable," efforts go "not unrewarded"), pedantic signposts (it has been observed, as just noted). He even inflates simple connective tissue, writing "During the past half century less a few years" instead of "For almost 50 years." No wonder Kennedy appointed him ambassador to India. Hindus are big on wheels of eternity, grooving on the same kind of endless, pointless, on-and-onness that Galbraith can spin out till the karmas come home.

Now 87, Galbraith is the last of the elbow-patch intellectuals, the quintessential Fifties professor with lips perpetually twitching in supercilious amusement (writers quoting him favor the attributive, "he wryly observed"), analyzing the antics of lesser breeds in little tomes with orotund titles that could be issued collectively as *White Trash with Money.*

If you have lolled for a not inordinate time on the plushy bosom of affluence and grown accustomed to the not adamantine underbelly of contentment hitherto, read John Kenneth Galbraith and you will be subsumed, forthwith, ineluctably, by the jawbone of an ass.

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EDITED BY MARTIN MORSE WOOSTER

the Digest

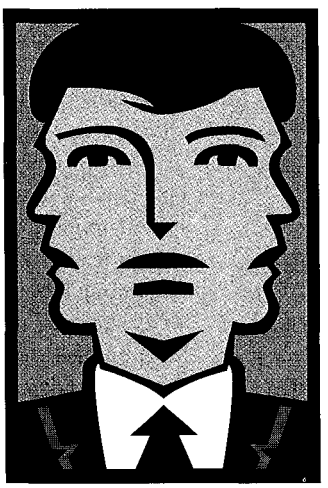
SUMMARIES OF IMPORTANT NEW RESEARCH FROM THE NATION'S UNIVERSITIES, THINK TANKS AND INVESTIGATIVE PUBLICATIONS

POLITICS

Keep Our Foes Confused

John Chettle, "The American Way; Or, How Chaos, Unpredictability, Contradictions, Complexity, and the Example of Our System Undid Communism and Apartheid," in The National Interest *(Fall 1995), 1112 16th Street NW #540, Washington, DC 20036.*

One of the common critiques non-Americans have of U.S. foreign policy is that we seem to have no consistent goals, with the diplomatic agenda revised with every president. But Chettle, formerly the head of the South Africa Foundation, sees our unpredictability as the U.S.'s greatest strength. He argues that collapse of two of the world's most totalitarian systems—communism and apartheid—was largely due to "the chaos and unpredictability that characteristically surrounds the formation and implementation of American foreign policy."



American foreign policy speaks with many voices—presidents, important senators and members of Congress, business leaders. Unlike many democracies, these voices often disagree, and other nations realize that to deal with America they must listen to people who don't share their point of view. If they want to receive the economic benefits of trade with the U.S. they also have to allow corporate heads, union leaders, bishops, scholars, and politicians into their country. And each time an American visitor demands to enter a forbidden zone, or asks why a Jew can't emigrate, or demonstrates that a black can do a job as well as a white, support for a closed system like communism or apartheid suffers a blow.

Once Americans are allowed into a country to buy and sell goods, or take part in conferences, a despotic regime will face trouble. The benefits of travel also work the other way. Every time a Soviet exchange guest toured the "stylish, noisy, irreverent" West, he began to realize that his government was built on a foundation of lies. No other country has enough global appeal and influence to do this in quite the same way, says Chettle.

The only countries able to resist American foreign policy, Chettle argues, are autarkies that eliminate foreign influence. The tyrants who run these nations would agree with apartheid founder Henrik Verwoerd, who once argued that he would prefer a South Africa "poor and separate to one that was rich and integrated."

So Chettle applauds Jimmy Carter's trip to North Korea, and argues that trade and tourism will do more to undermine Cuban communism than continuing to make Castro an international pariah. "It is precisely those states in which there has been little or no positive American involvement," Chettle concludes, "that are most likely to maintain stable and despotic governments."

ECONOMICS

Markets Makes You Virtuous

James Q. Wilson, "Capitalism and Morality," in The Public Interest *(Fall 1995), 1112 16th Street NW #530, Washington, DC, 20036.*

Nearly everyone knows that free markets do a better job of increasing the wealth and prosperity of the common man than government does. But critics of capitalism now argue that the system is amoral or immoral, teaching that greed is good or that profits matter more than people.

Wilson, a professor of management at the University of California (Los Angeles), disagrees. Capitalism, he argues, teaches many important moral lessons. Among them:

Politeness. In a competitive market, firms that seem to care about their customers attract more business than companies whose employees are surly or rude. While some employees can certainly fake sincerity, it's hard to see corporations implementing a company-wide policy of secretly despising their clients. And as Aristotle observed, young people learn to be virtuous through habit, so all the burger-flipping teenagers who have to say "May I help you?" and "Thank you" dozens of times each day are likely to become more civil in the process.

Frugality. Capitalists need capital, and the best way to obtain capital is to save. People who restrain themselves and don't get into debt are rewarded with more wealth in the future.

Open-mindedness. As Nobel Prize-winning economist Gary Becker once observed, prejudiced businessmen aren't as successful as their open-minded colleagues, since their narrowness restricts their custom or labor base, making goods and wages more expensive and lowering profits. When the South was desegregated, hotels and restaurants admitted blacks far faster than the public schools did, because "school authorities lacked any market incentive to admit more or different pupils."

The Golden Rule. Treating customers the way you would like to be treated is as good a way to succeed in business as it is in life.

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Corporations who treat their customers fairly do better in the market than ones that treat them badly.

As American Enterprise Institute fellow Michael Novak has observed, corporations are important "mediating structures" that, like churches or families, stand between the individual and the state. They are not perfect, Wilson argues, but they can help societies become more moral and just.

The Boss Deserves It

R. Glenn Hubbard and Darius Palia, "Executive Pay and Performance: Lessons from the U.S. Banking Industry," in Journal of Financial Economics *(September 1995), Elsevier Science, Post Office Box 564, CH-1001 Lausanne 1, Switzerland.*

A common complaint these days is that chief executive officers of corporations are being paid too much. But Hubbard, a visiting scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, and Palia, of the Columbia Business School, find that current CEO compensation is fair. The boss may be paid more, they note, but he's also more likely to be fired for bad performance.

Hubbard and Palia examined the banking industry. Prior to 1985, banks were largely limited to one state, but then the Supreme Court paved the way for mergers and the rise of interstate banks. In making banking a more competitive environment, the Court increased the worth of CEOs who raised the stock value of their firms.

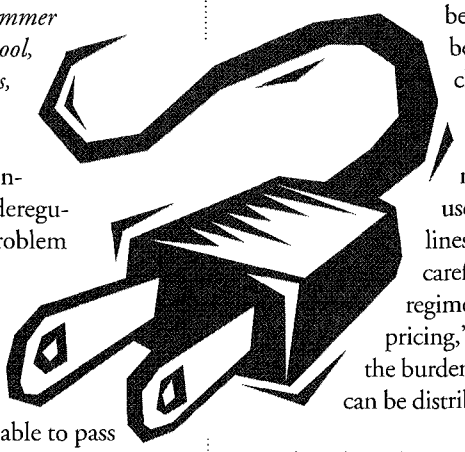
The authors found that 40 out of 125 banks they were able to collect complete information on changed their CEO within three years of the introduction of interstate banking—compared to 21 banks that ousted the boss in the three years prior to deregulation. (Nine more banks changed their bosses before and after deregulation.) This increased volatility suggests that bank CEOs became far more vulnerable to firing as competition and compensation increased.

Hubbard and Palia also found that banking CEOs tended to own more stock after deregulation than before, giving them a larger personal stake in the rise and decline of their company's fortunes. Before deregulation, the average banking CEO owned 0.37 percent of his company's stock; after deregulation, he held 0.49 percent.

This research, the authors argue, provides additional evidence that "restricting pay levels of chief executive officers reduces the effectiveness of a well-functioning managerial labor market."

Getting Ready For Electricity Deregulation

William J. Baumol and J. Gregory Sidak, "Stranded Costs," in Harvard Journal of Law & Public Policy *(Summer 1995), Harvard Law School, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 02138.*



As the electric power industry begins to be deregulated, it must solve the problem of what economists call "stranded costs"—expenses incurred within a highly regulated environment which the companies might not be able to pass on to customers in a competitive market. These include costs of subsidies for low-income users and for renewable energy, capital improvements which regulators required them to amortize over long periods, and the expenses of honoring contracts for power at rates set much earlier. Baumol, a New York University economist, and Sidak, an American Enterprise Institute fellow, argue that these stranded costs could total as much as $200 billion nationwide—and could be a substantial hurdle in the way of electric power deregulation.

Utilities, Baumol and Sidak argue, ought to be able to charge others for their stranded costs for two reasons. First, forcing them to absorb these costs themselves will only reward inefficient rivals. If a utility can generate electricity ten percent more cheaply than a rival, but must charge a 20 percent premium to pay for stranded costs, then the less productive competitors can undercut them, and the market would reward inefficient firms. To match the prices of their rivals, utilities carrying stranded costs would have to provide less service than before deregulation. If utilities with stranded costs forced their customers to pay for them, that would only encourage good clients to switch to competitors when their contracts expire.

A fairer way to pay for stranded costs, Baumol and Sidak argue, is to allow utilities to distribute the burden among all of its existing consumers A utility can do this in several ways—by making all its customers pay a monthly access charge, requiring an entrance fee before a rival firm is allowed to begin operations, or mandating that any customer who switches firms has to pay a transfer fee. These charges might distort consumer choices of one firm over another, however, so Baumol and Sidak suggest a better method might be to have utilities include a stranded-cost surcharge as part of the fee they charge rivals who want to use their transmission lines. By imposing "a carefully constructed regime of transmission pricing," the authors argue, the burden of stranded costs can be distributed equitably.

Go Ahead—Blame the Computer

Thomas K. Landauer, The Trouble with Computers: Usefulness, Useability, and Productivity. *MIT Press, 55 Hayward Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02142. 391 p. $27.50.*

One of the knottier problems economists currently deal with is why American productivity isn't rising more. Since 1960, Americans have spent over $4 trillion on computers, and spending on hardware and software currently accounts for ten percent of the U.S. gross national product. But there is no evidence that all this spending has helped most firms become more efficient. Indeed, Landauer, a psychologist at the University of Colorado, argues that computers are largely responsible for the slowdown in U.S. productivity, causing the U.S. economy to be smaller than it should be, and making every American $4,000 a year poorer than they would have been if firms had spent their capital investments on things other than computers.

One place computers have brought major productivity gains is the telephone business. Between 1950 and 1990, the number of telephone lines in the U.S. increased by 400 percent, yet automation allowed the phone companies to handle this huge load with only 40 percent more employees. Other industries and companies have like-

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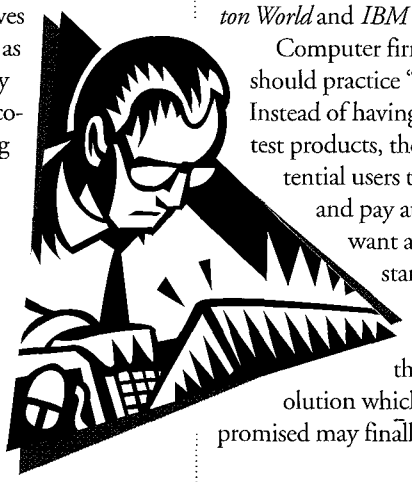
wise depended on computers for their successes. Federal Express could not have taken off without computers that enable the company to instantly track packages.

But many computer innovations have done little to help companies increase their profits. Among the disappointments:

Word processing. Researchers at IBM and Xerox's Palo Alto Research Center have shown that while word processing makes documents easier to produce, workers consequently go through more drafts. In one IBM study, a typewritten letter went through 8 drafts, but the same word-processed document went through 41 drafts. And since documents that used to be typed quickly by lower-wage secretaries are now word processed inefficiently by high-paid executives, companies don't save money. Given that executives may make up to five times as much as the secretaries they have displaced, "the true economics" of word processing "are positively terrible."



ATMs. While ATM's are strongly favored by a minority of bank customers, most people still prefer to stand in line and be helped by tellers. There's also no evidence that ATMs save banks money overall.

Research. Databases give researchers more citations faster than card catalogs and bound indexes do, but the amount of useless information generated by typical on-line searches almost equals the number of useful citations. Moreover, information stored on-line has been stripped of searching tools (such as indexes) that have been in books for centuries. "Computer text," Landauer argues, "at least in its most frequently encountered form, has taken us straight back to the scroll."

Landauer argues that computers haven't increased productivity for several reasons. One is that people hate to read electronic documents, particularly if they have justified right-hand margins. The result, psychologists find, is that most offices "have refused to surrender their paper," resulting in needless electronic and printed duplication.

But the most important reason why computers fail their users is poor software. "Computers," Landauer contends, "make it easy to commit errors that are hard to fix." Many software companies produce programs which aren't compatible with their competitors, frustrating users who can't adjust to the differences between one system and another. And software companies constantly introduce new versions of their programs that add features and force users to waste time relearning how to use the program, without increasing productivity. Computer users spend far more time studying their programs and dealing with incompatibilities than they did on comparable housekeeping in the pre-computer era. As author Steven Levy observes, "back in the old days when I toiled on a typewriter, I never spent a whole morning installing a new ribbon. Nor did I subscribe to *Remington World* and *IBM Selectric User.*"

Computer firms, Landauer concludes, should practice "user-centered design." Instead of having clever programmers test products, they should hire actual potential users to sort out the bugs—and pay attention to what users want and need instead of constantly adding useless upgrades. Once software becomes user-friendly, then the productivity revolution which computers have long promised may finally begin to be achieved.

SOCIETY

God Gets a Grant

Amy L. Sherman, "Cross Purposes," in Policy Review *(Fall 1995), Heritage Foundation, 214 Massachusetts Avenue NE, Washington, DC 20002*

As governors struggle with welfare reform, they are turning to one group shunned by social services agencies in the past—churches. In Mississippi, Gov. Kirk Fordice has instituted "Faith and Families," a program in which the state's social-service agencies combine with churches to "adopt" welfare families. Michigan Governor John Engler has instituted the most extensive program for contracting welfare programs out to religious organizations. Driving all this is clear evidence that the most successful social programs, as syndicated columnist William Raspberry summarizes, "are those that are driven—even if only tacitly—by moral or religious values."

But are secular welfare officials prepared to advance Jewish and Christian teachings? Sherman, a visiting fellow at the Ethics and Public Policy Center, thinks not. State welfare contracts, she argues, "almost always come with conditions—regulations that often diminish a religious group's best assets."

She examines the effects that state contracts have had on several Christian poverty-fighting organizations in Michigan. In 1991, the Michigan Department of Social Services awarded the Salvation Army a $3 million contract to operate homeless shelters, a contract that has grown to $9.5 million in 1995. In the four years it's had the contract, the Army and its subcontractors have provided 2.9 million nights of shelter at an average cost of $10 per person per day—far less than the $240 million General Assistance program the Salvation Army contract largely superseded.

But while the Salvation Army has over a century's worth of experience in fighting poverty using spiritual tools, it's barred from using such methods in any shelter it runs or subcontracts with Michigan's money. The Army's chapels, Bible-study classes, job-training courses, and drug-rehabilitation seminars and are not allowed in state-subsidized shelters.

Other Christian groups are likewise forced by the state to turn into secular bureaucracies if they accept government grants. Detroit's REACH, for example, began as an effort by several parishioners of the 12th Street Baptist Church, and was able to build houses for the poor through the efforts of volunteers and low-paid church personnel. But when REACH obtained federal grants, it had to raise the salaries of its staffers and hire counselors with master's degrees in social work. The result: Before accepting government grants, REACH had up to 100 volunteers; today, it has none.

State welfare agencies, Sherman argues,

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should stop trying to force religious nonprofits into adopting their failed methods and cultures, and should accept that Jewish and Christian charities use different—and superior—methods to fight poverty. Government agencies that are inflexible in their supervision of religious nonprofits, Sherman argues, fail to "help the needy to help themselves."

Big Bird: Bad Guy?

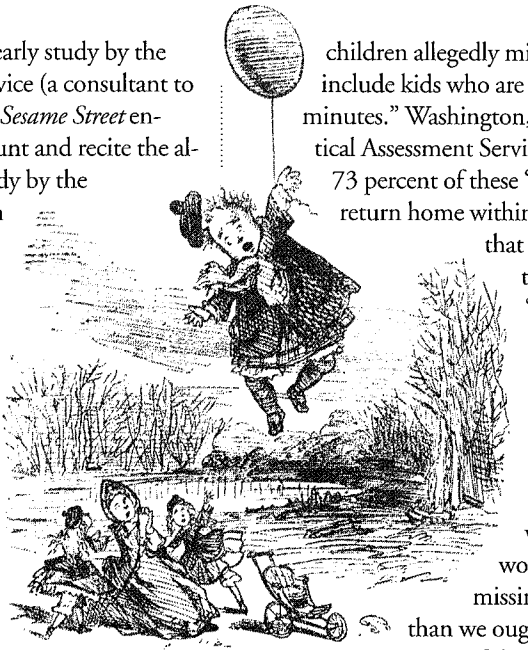
Kay S. Hymowitz, "On Sesame Street, It's All Show," in City Journal *(Autumn 1995), Manhattan Institute, 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, New York, 10017.*

Public broadcasting's most revered icon these days isn't Jim Lehrer or Bill Moyers, but Big Bird. *Sesame Street* has become such an unquestioned television institution that its puppet characters have become pundits. Big Bird marched in President Clinton's inaugural parade, and his colleagues, Bert and Ernie, testified before Congress. But free-lancer Hymowitz argues that *Sesame Street* has actually failed in its fundamental purpose: There's no evidence the program actually helps preschoolers do well in school.

Strip *Sesame Street* of its puppets, its ironic references to other television shows and pop culture, and its earnest guest stars, and you'll find a show that's "a disjointed series of animated flash cards...whose inherent blandness and triviality the producers spend millions trying to disguise." But endless repetitions of "A" or "8" do little to prepare toddlers to concentrate, recall images, link one concept to another, and do all the hard work reading requires. Moreover, *Sesame Street* does little to tell children how much fun books can be. Instead of dramatizing great fairy tales, for example, the show fills its hour with rap songs, videos, and tv parodies.

Though a great many educational psychologists have spent much time studying *Sesame Street,* Hymowitz reports there's little evidence that time spent watching the show is productive. One Westat study claims that 77 percent of U.S. preschoolers watch the show at least once a week. If American kids are benefiting so much from the show, Hymowitz asks, where is the evidence that five-year-olds are doing better in school? Many of the most-publicized studies, she charges, are "advocacy masquerading as social science." For example, an early study by the Educational Testing Service (a consultant to the show), claimed that *Sesame Street* encouraged children to count and recite the alphabet. A follow-up study by the Russell Sage Foundation found that most of the gains recorded by ETS, however, were due to efforts by the researchers themselves to encourage parents, such as by providing free literature.

The Children's Television Workshop, producers of Sesame Street, has become a mighty broadcasting empire. 1994 revenues for this non-profit corporation were $120 million, including licensing fees from over 400 products ranging from books, bubble baths, videos, and pajamas, to Chef Boy-Ar-Dee pasta and the *Sesame Street* Silly Sentence Maker, which the manufacturer says "helps kids say really goofy things in a grammatically correct fashion." The workshop's endowment currently is $71 million. All these riches, Hymowitz concludes, are made by a show that does little more than teach its viewers "the conventions of an anti-intellectual pop culture."



Hijacking the Kidnap Statistics

Tadd Wilson, "Suffer the Missing Children?" in Reason *(November 1995), 3415 South Sepulveda Boulevard #400, Los Angeles, California 90034.*

One of the fears every parent faces is that his or her child will be kidnapped by a stranger. These fears are sometimes fanned by public figures; Attorney General Janet Reno, for example, claims that 440,000 children go missing each year.

Wilson, a student at the University of North Carolina (Chapel Hill) finds Attorney General Reno's numbers suspicious. "The history of missing children," he writes, is "marked by inflated figures, often promulgated by organizations with an interest in scaring the public."

According to a study done by University of New Hampshire researcher David Finkelhor for the Justice Department, the 440,000 children allegedly missing each year include kids who are lost for "a few minutes." Washington, D.C.'s Statistical Assessment Service reports that 73 percent of these "lost children" return home within 24 hours, and that 12 percent of them were "missing" because they forgot what time they had to be home.

Much of the reason we're more worried about missing children than we ought to be is because of the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children (NCMEC), a Congressionally-mandated nonprofit which receives 45 percent of its over $6 million budget from the Department of Health and Human Services. NCMEC, Wilson charges, routinely inflates their estimates of the number of missing children to "justify the center's continued funding with federal tax dollars." For example, according to NCMEC up to 50,000 American children are kidnapped by strangers each year, an estimate ten times higher than the Justice Department's own questionable estimates. More responsible experts, such as Child Find president Louis McCagg, suggest that no more than 600 children are annually abducted by strangers.

Efforts to protect children from the small number of true childnappers may end up doing a good deal of damage to America's children. Many of the thousands of state and local police departments that have been trained by NCMEC go into schools and fingerprint children in case they are kidnapped. Is it really necessary, Wilson asks, that our children be forced to undergo the "immediate psychological trauma" of such procedures to protect against a risk that's so small?

SCIENCE AND ENVIRONMENT

Trade Freely and Save the Planet

Indur M. Goklany, "Strategies to Enhance Adaptability, Technological Change, Sus-

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tainable Growth and Free Trade," in Climactic Change *(August 1995), Kluwer Academic Publishers Group, Post Office Box 322, 3300 AH Dordrecht, The Netherlands.*

Environmentalists are calling for many punitive measures to prevent global warning. But Goklany, a scientist at the U.S. Department of the Interior's Office of Policy Analysis, suggests a different strategy. Economic growth and free trade, he argues, will do more to prevent the harm climactic change could cause then would any massive government effort.

Economic growth is good for the environment because richer nations are better able to afford environmental protection measures than poorer ones are. Wealthy countries tend to have lower rates of population growth, and the richer a land is, the less land it needs to harvest a given amount of food. According to the U.N.'s Food and Agriculture Organization, the amount of global cropland increased only by 26 percent between 1950 and 1989, though world population doubled. Had the world of 1989 only had the agricultural technology of 1950 available to it, Goklany estimates, 910 million hectares more land would have been needed to grow crops. By comparison, the total global territory of parks, forests, and reserves today amounts to 650 million hectares.

Many environmentalists are suspicious of trade, but Goklany argues that it helps rather than harms the planet. Unsubsidized trade, for example, shifts food production from marginal areas to more efficient and less frail lands. In the northeastern United States, for example, the amount of cropland fell by 59 percent between 1949 and 1987, even though the region's population rose by 31 percent during this period. "Most of the land in the Northeast was given back to nature," Goklany reports, "and many species, formerly under stress, have now rebounded." With free trade and no farm subsidies, he argues, a similar process could occur worldwide.

If world environmental organizations would back trade and economic growth, Goklany concludes, the planet could see a decline in greenhouse gases and a reduction in population rise. "Work on establishing these frameworks," he concludes, "cannot start soon enough."

Affordable Air

Robert W. Hahn, "Choosing Among Fuels and Technologies for Cleaning Up the Air," in Journal of Policy Analysis and Management *(Fall 1995), John Wiley and Sons, 605 Third Avenue, New York, New York 10158.*

One provision of the Clean Air Act of 1990 requires a gradual reduction in the amount of pollution emitted from cars. Environmental economists are divided over what strategy would work best to achieve this reduction. Some favor reformulated gasoline. Others prefer mandating more stringent pollution controls for cars.

Hahn, a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, suggests letting markets decide which strategy is best. Market-based approaches to automobile pollution, he believes, can save consumers as much as $29 billion over "command-and-control regulation."

Every pollution-preventing policy has its price. While cars don't have to be modified to accept reformulated gasoline, oil companies will need to spend billions adapting refineries to produce it. According to the California Air Resources Board, refineries in that state will have to spend up to $7 billion retrofitting their plants to produce a gasoline that will reduce automobile emissions by 30 percent. The new product will cost consumers about 17 cents more per gallon.

Automobile companies are simultaneously designing low-emission cars. These use leak-free exhaust systems and improved heat conservation methods to achieve substantial reductions in nitrous oxide and other pollutants. But they will cost consumers about $780 more than comparable existing models. Electrically-powered "zero-emission vehicles" eliminate pollutants entirely. They are expected to cost an average of $12,590 more than today's cars, however. This hasn't prevented California from mandating that two percent of all the cars sold in that state by 1998 (and ten percent by 2003) be zero-emitters.

Hahn believes some air-pollution restrictions are reasonable. Using low-emission vehicles and reformulated gasoline, for example, can reduce air emissions by 70 percent at a reasonable cost. But unless electrically-powered cars can be produced at a much lower cost, mandating *elimination* of air pollution fails a benefit-cost test.

Pollution markets can provide guidance to the most efficient ways to eliminate a given unit of pollution. Automakers could satisfy pollution-reduction quotas by buying pollution quotas from belching electric-power companies, who would use the proceeds to buy their own clean-up equipment. Instituting pollution-emission markets, Hahn believes, would "give consumers and businesses the incentive to find the least expensive means of achieving the desired environmental objective."

OTHER COUNTRIES

Saving in Singapore

Mukul G. Asher, Compulsory Savings in Singapore: An Alternative to the Welfare State. *National Center for Policy Analysis, 12655 North Central Expressway #720, Dallas, Texas 75243. 13 p.*

Most observers agree that the U.S. Social Security system is an inefficient method of providing for the needs of the elderly. As reformers look to alternatives, they might consider the experience of Singapore, a nation that has pursued an alternative path to retirement and health care coverage that gives citizens flexibility over how they save. Asher, a National University of Singapore economist, suggests that his country's experience might provide valuable lessons for other nations.

Singapore's equivalent of Social Security and Medicare is the Central Provident Fund (CPF), created in 1955. Currently, all employed Singapore citizens must contribute 40 percent of their wages (up to a maximum) to this fund. Thirty percent of a Singapore worker's wage goes into an "ordinary" account where the worker chooses state-approved investments to put it in. A further six percent of the worker's contribution (eight percent for workers over 45) goes to "Medisave," which pays for hospital expenses. (Singaporeans are supposed to pay for out-of-hospital medical bills on their own.) The remaining four percent goes to a "special" account designed to pay for retirement. As of 1994, the CPF had 2.5 million members, and the fund had balances equal to 72 percent of Singapore's

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gross domestic product.

Because CPF accounts belong to individuals not the state, they are fully portable. Members can invest 80 percent of their accounts in Singaporean or other south Asian stocks approved by the CPF board, or in approved unit trusts (mutual funds), or in gold. In 1999, members will be allowed to buy unit trusts which invest in American or European stocks. Until age 55, CPF members can withdraw money from their accounts only for a down payment on a house, and they must return any money borrowed. Accumulated money can also be used as collateral for college loans. After age 55, CPF members must purchase an annuity of a minimum size from either the state or a private firm, or else deposit that sum in a bank, with only a portion of the funds released each year. Accumulated funds above the minimum can be used however the owner wishes.

Singapore's savings plan, Asher argues, has several strengths. It establishes that people need to take responsibility to save for their old age, and the pool of savings generated by the plan aids national economic growth. With its mandatory aspects, however, the paternalistic CPF plan might work only in a nation like Singapore that adheres to a "corporatist view of the state." Some features of Singapore's mandatory savings plan, however, could surely be incorporated into the social security systems of other nations, Asher concludes.

Ukraine Bounces Back

Anders Åslund, "Ukraine's Turnaround," in Foreign Policy *(Fall 1995), Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2400 M Street NW, Washington, DC 20037.*

At the end of 1993 it appeared that Ukraine was one of the major losers in the breakup of the Soviet Union. Its government, led by President Leonid Kravchuk, consisted largely of former communists who feared change and embraced corruption. Between 1990 and 1994, Ukraine's gross domestic product fell by 52 percent, and the annual inflation rate reached 10,200 percent by 1993. A Ukrainian who earned more than $100 a month faced an income tax rate of 90 percent.

But in the past two years, Ukraine has begun to recover. The monthly inflation rate, for example, fell from 72 percent to 5 percent between November 1994 and May 1995. Åslund, a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment and an Ukrainian economic adviser, thinks that Ukraine has the potential to become a stable and prosperous democracy.

Ukraine's recovery began with the May 1994 election of Leonid Kuchma to the presidency. Unlike his predecessor, Kuchma had no ties to the communist *nomenklatura,* having previously served as the director of a rocket factory. Kuchma has strived to eliminate corruption, and has assembled a team of tough-minded economic reformers, including Ukrainian National Bank governor Viktor Yushchenko, Minister of Economy Roman Shpek, and Minister of Privatization Yury Yekhanurov. These reformers have worked to reduce the national debt and fight inflation, and Kuchma has aided them selling the public on the idea that these measures are necessary to ensure his nation's survival.

While President Kravchuk was hesitant about privatization, President Kuchma has launched a "mass privatization program." Early in 1995, each of the 52 million Ukrainians was given a voucher to purchase shares in 8,000 medium-sized and large firms. Kuchma has signed a decree stating that 90 percent of Ukraine's small firms will be privatized by the end of 1995. State-run agricultural communes are also slowly being dismantled through a series of auctions.

Ukraine still faces many formidable hurdles. For one, the European Union appears to be "a major threat to the success of the Ukrainian reforms"—because it imposes protectionist barriers against Ukrainian metals, chemicals, textiles, and agricultural products. Customs procedures are also a problem; there are only five border crossings with Central Europe, and red tape ensures that a truck takes seven days to cross the Ukranian-Hungarian frontier.

So long as Ukraine continues the hard measures to ensure economic stability, Åslund predicts that its future is bright. "If Ukraine stays on its current path of virtue," he believes, "the West will find it difficult to ignore a country of France's size that emerges as a stable democracy and a promising market economy."

Statement Required by the Act of August 12, 1970, Section 3685, Title 39, United States Code, showing the ownership, management, and circulation of THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE, Publication 10473572. Published bimonthly (6 issues annually), at annual subscription price of $28.00 individual, $56.00 corporate at 1150 Seventeenth Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20036-4671 for October 1, 1995.

The names and addresses of the Publisher, Editor, and Managing Editor are: Publisher, Christopher C. DeMuth, 1150 Seventeenth Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20036-4671, Editor, Karl Zinsmeister, 430 S. Geneva Street, Ithaca, N.Y. 14850; Managing Editor, Karl Zinsmeister, 430 S. Geneva Street, Ithaca, N.Y. 14850.

The Owner is the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1150 Seventeenth Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20036-4671, a nonprofit, educational organization.

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I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

(Signed)
Ashley Cooper
Business Manager

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AMERICA'S NEWSPAPER

The Washington Times

NATIONAL WEEKLY EDITION

April 17 – 23, 1995

$2.50

Coalition to offer 'Contract' for families

By Larry Witham and Laurie Kellman
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The Christian Coalition, the nation's largest political coalition of religious conservatives, will deliver a "Contract With the American Family" to Congress when it returns from the Easter recess.

"The surveying is in the final stages, and we think we'll have something in a week or two," said coalition Executive Director Ralph Reed in a telephone interview. "We will present it to Congress when they get back."

In a speech to 150 students at Kennesaw State College in Atlanta on April 11, Mr. Reed outlined seven points that he called "the gist" of what a final document might contain.

That same day House Speaker Newt Gingrich was being feted at a banquet across town.

The Reed speech came after a massive mailing by the Christian Coalition in February and March to solicit priorities for social reform and raise money to pay for a survey of 2 million "Christian voters."

Sen. Bob Dole, left, accepts a "key to the state" from Gov. George Pataki, center, and Sen. Alfonse D'Amato after speaking at a fundraiser April 10 in New York.

Dole decries assaults on values

By Ralph Z. Hallow
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

DES MOINES, Iowa - Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole accused the entertainment industry of poisoning the minds of American youth while government assaults the values and moral codes taught in churches public schools would go far toward restoring a moral society.

"Voluntary prayer is forbidden in our classrooms," he told more than 1,000 people in the atrium of the state Capitol. "The moral code we nurture in our churches and synagogues is under attack from our government. We need our schools to once again reflect the Americans, Mr. Dole said, "One of the most alarming aspects of government intrusiveness has been the assault it has waged on our values."

At campaign stops on April 11 in Columbus, Ohio, and Des Moines, Mr. Dole railed against the entertainment industry.

"Every parent knows," Mr. Dole

Pattern seen as defections continue

By Donald Lambro
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The growing list of Democratic defections to the GOP is sending shock waves through the Democratic Party's leadership, which fears further congressional losses in 1996 and beyond.

Democratic officials deny the desertions are part of a long-term political realignment favoring Republicans. But some Democratic strategists and rank-and-file activists think it's going to get worse for the Democrats before it gets better.

"Yes, it's going to get worse. It's going to go on for a while. You're going to see some more switches by some of these fellows who want to stay in office and who think that changing parties is the way to do

Rep. Nathan Deal

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Opinion Pulse

Edited by Karlyn Bowman and Everett Carll Ladd
Data from the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research

Thinking About the 1996 Election

Contents

88 Election Preview
89 Voting Decisions
90 Party Strengths
91 Second Thoughts About Third Parties
92 Who Supports Ross Perot?
93 Republicans and Democrats

Contemporary political commentary often uses terms like "angry" and "alienated" interchangeably. This is a great mistake. Today's electorate is certainly angry about what is sees as deficiencies in current political leadership and performance. It is, however, not an alienated electorate—that is, one estranged from its political system. As we show on page 101, large majorities of the public are engaged politically. We care who gets elected. When we don't vote, it's not because we've lost a vivid sense of voting as a vital part of our citizenship. And, while it is true that the rate of voting is down somewhat from its 20th-century U.S. high in 1960, most elements of political participation have been rising.

We are living in a time when a great many citizens believe that "politics as usual" leaves much to be desired. For twenty years now, demands for change in the political process—involving such things as balanced budget amendments, term limits, and campaign finance reform—have gained increased backing. There is a direct parallel with the Progressive era—when "the interests" were seen as too strong, and many citizens sought ways to put "the people" more front and center in governance. Support for the idea of independent candidacies and third-party challenges today is part of the general dissatisfaction.

This mix of sentiment—dissatisfactions with politics as usual, but nothing approaching alienation from political institutions—qualifies backing for a third party (see page 91). Americans aren't at war with the political parties, or with our two-party tradition. We want politicians to shape up, and we are looking for every possible way to say so. The support for Ross Perot (page 92) is not so much for the man himself as for political reform.

There is another important indicator of political change in this data: Americans are more independent and willing to split our tickets than we used to be. We show on page 89 that ticket-splitting has increased markedly over the last 30 to 40 years.

A variety of trends have come together to create a partisan realignment—one which has seen the Republicans climb impressively from their New Deal nadir. In this realignment, the GOP's image as a party fit to govern has improved, while the Democrats' image has declined (page 90).

We show on pages 93 and 94 how much the make-up of each party has changed from 1950 to the present. The enormous shift of white Southerners to the Republicans remains the single most consequential element of movement, and the data presented at the bottom of these pages actually understate the change. First, Southerners who call themselves independents are much more numerous now than they were earlier, but these self-described independents in the South have in fact voted heavily Republican since 1980. Even more important, the party system that the Democratic party presided over in the South in FDR's time (as before) systematically excluded blacks from voting. The Democrats' overwhelming support in the region was, then, almost entirely among whites. Today, in sharp contrast, blacks are fully enfranchised and solidly Democratic. The total shift toward Republicans in the region is impressive, but the shift among white voters is enormous.

The total shift toward Republicans in the South is impressive, but the shift among white voters is enormous.

Religious conservatives are another critical group in the realignment. Historically, the "religious divide" in the United States was largely an ethnic one—separating Americans of Protestant ancestry from Roman Catholic ethnics. Today, in contrast, it is mostly between religious participants and non-participants. Not all participants are in any sense political conservatives, but Republicans do better within the religiously participating community than do Democrats. Those identifying with the "religious right" and members of the Christian Coalition are overwhelmingly Republican.

—Everett Carll Ladd

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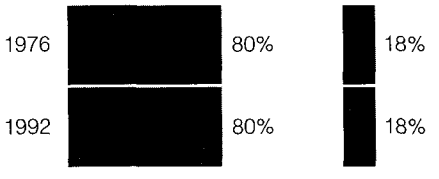
ELECTION PREVIEW

In just 10 months, America will conduct its 105th national election. Although Americans are dissatisfied with Washington's performance, they are not jaded about this impressive continuity. Eight in ten say that it makes a difference who is elected. Over 90 percent agree that "it's my duty as a citizen to always vote" and nearly seven in ten feel guilty when they don't. In the latest election cycle, a quarter of all respondents said they had worn a campaign button or displayed a sign or asked someone to vote for a candidate. Nearly two in ten have contributed their dollars to a campaign.

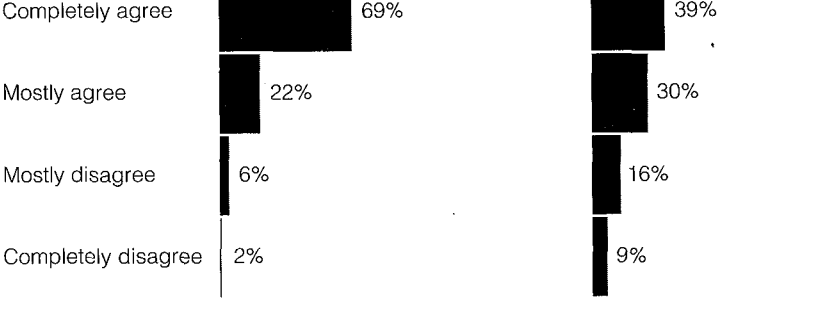
Question: **In your opinion, does it...?**



A late October 1995 Times Mirror survey found that 78% said that they cared a great deal about "who wins the 1996 presidential election."

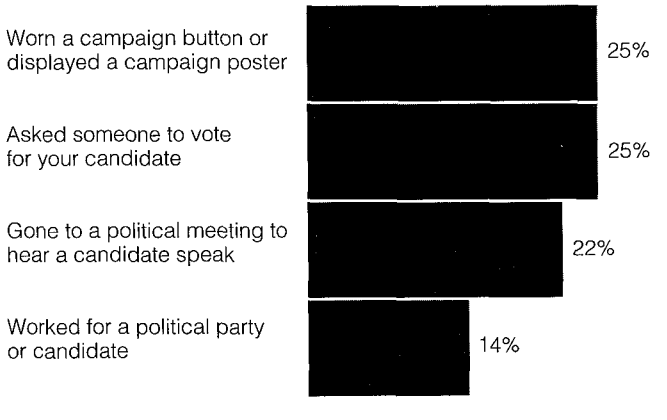
Source: Survey by *Newsweek*, 1976 and the Times Mirror Center for the People & the Press, May 28–June 10, 1992.

Question: **Here are some statements on a different topic. Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with each of these statements...?**



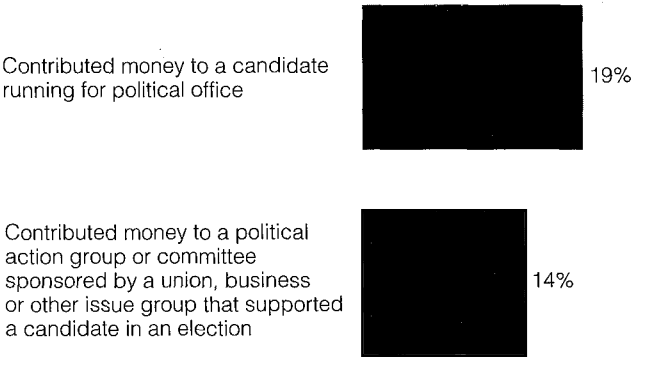
Source: Survey by the Times Mirror Center for the People & the Press, May 28–June 10, 1992.

Question: **Some people are quite active in politics, while others prefer not to take an active part. During the past three to four years, have you done any of the things listed on this card...?**



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization for the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, October 7–25, 1994.

Question: **People express their opinions about politics and current events in a number of ways. I'm going to read a list of some of these ways. Have you ever...**



Source: Survey by the Times Mirror Center for the People & the Press, May 18–24, 1993.

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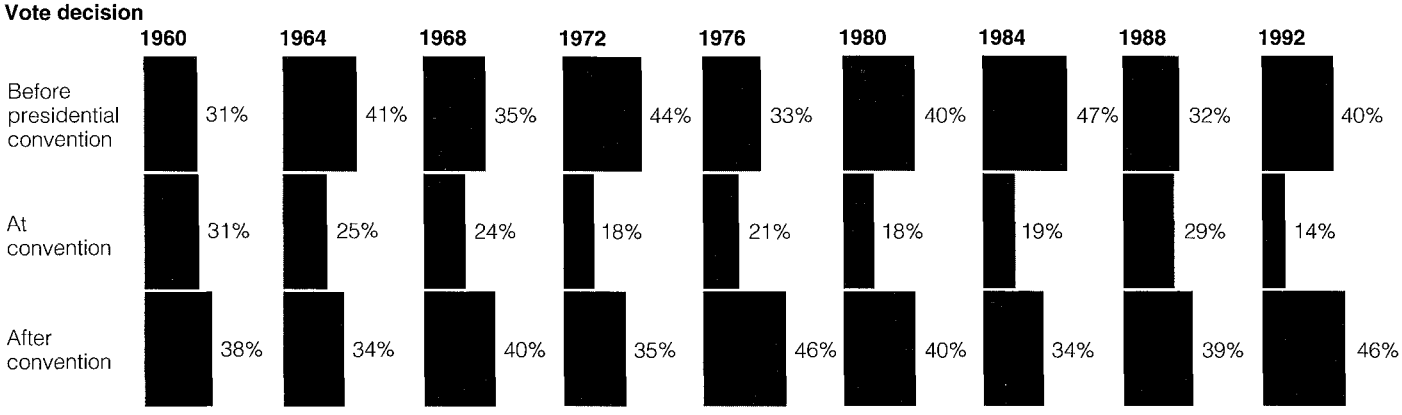
VOTING DECISIONS

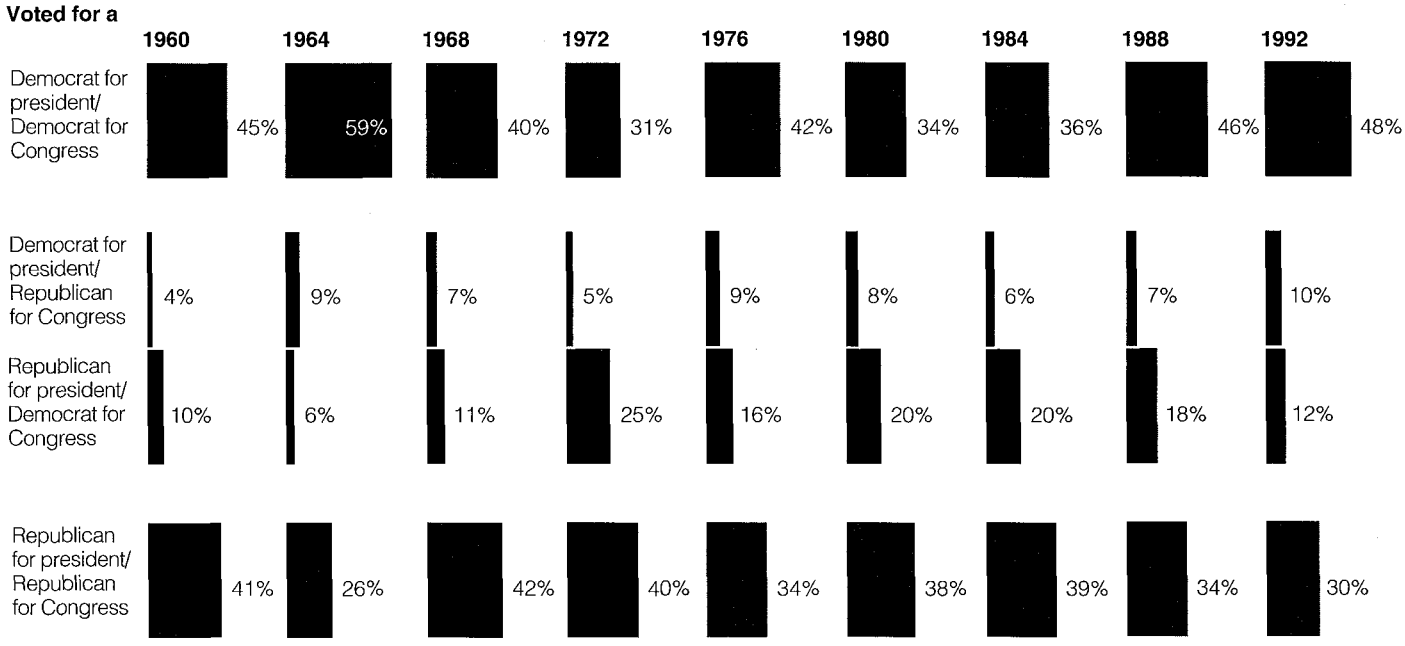
For politicians, one presidential campaign starts almost as soon as the previous one ends. Not surprisingly, for the vast majority of our population the contest starts much later. In the fall of 1995, fewer than half of all Americans said they had discussed the upcoming campaign with friends over the last month. In the 1992 election, 46 percent of those surveyed made up their mind after the conventions. In the landslide years of 1964, 1972, and 1984, voters made their mind up earlier. As party loyalty has declined, the number of Americans splitting their tickets has increased.

Question: **How long before the election did you decide that you were going to vote the way you did?**



A survey by the Wirthlin Group in September 1995 found that a third of registered voters could not tell the surveyors when the next presidential election would be held. Sixty-seven percent gave the correct response. In another question in the survey, 40 percent said they had not thought much about the next presidential election. About a quarter (24 percent) had given a great deal of thought about it, and 36 percent, some thought. Fewer than half of the respondents said they had discussed the election in the last month with family or friends; 57 percent said they had not.

Question: **Who did you vote for in the election for president? Who did you vote for in the election for the House of Representatives in Washington?**



Source: Survey by the Center for Political Studies, the University of Michigan, latest that of November 4–January 13, 1993.

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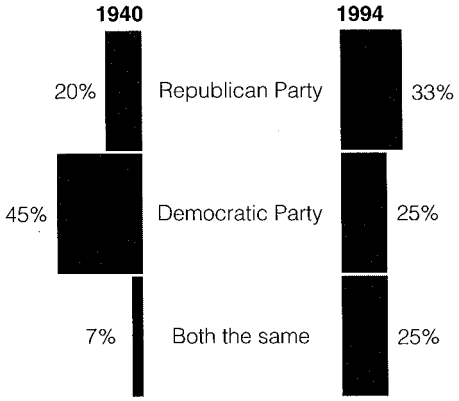
PARTY STRENGTHS

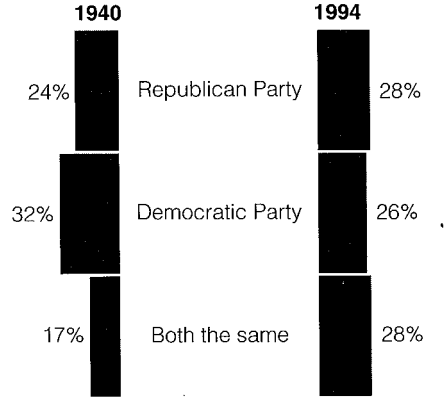
Roper Starch Worldwide recently repeated a question about images of the two parties that the firm asked over 50 years ago. During the height of Franklin Roosevelt's popularity, the Democrats led the Republicans on having the most efficient party organization, the most good people to run for president, the most common sense, and the most interest in people as a whole. Fifty-five years later, the Republicans had a slight lead on three of the four attributes. Perhaps more significant, the number of Americans saying both parties are the same has risen. Simultaneously, the population identifying themselves as indepedent has risen.

Question: **Regardless of which party you belong to—Republican or Democratic—which party do you think has...?**

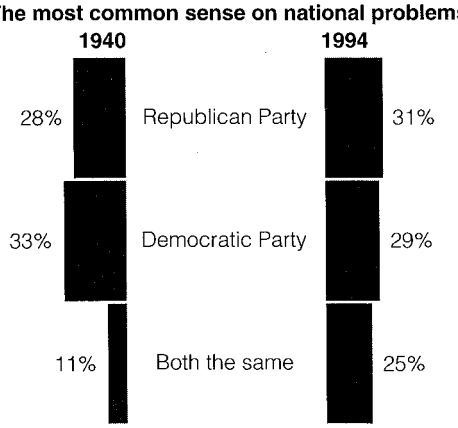
The most efficient national party organization



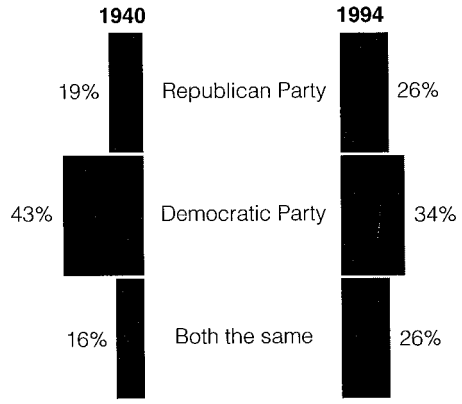
The most people in it good enough to run for president



The most common sense on national problems

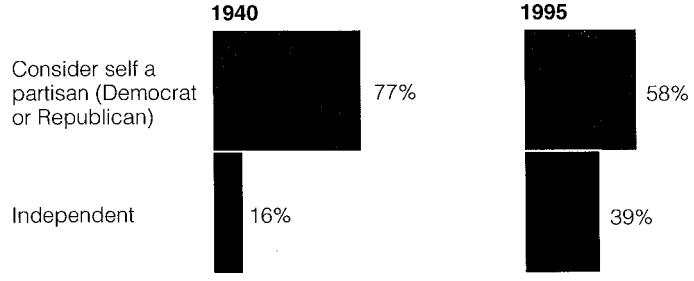


The most interest in people as a whole



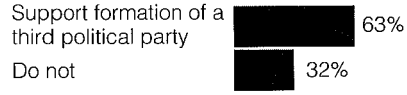
Note: "Both the same" was a volunteered response in both years.
Source: Survey by Roper Starch Worldwide, latest that of December 3–10, 1995.

Question: **In politics, as of today, do you consider yourself a Republican, a Democrat, or an Independent?**

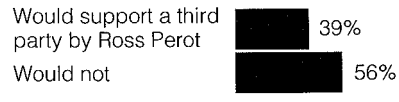


Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, latest that of August 4–7, 1995.

Question: **Would you support or oppose the formation of a third political party that would run candidates for president, Congress, and state offices against Democratic and Republican party candidates?**



Question: **What if a third party were started by Ross Perot and his United We Stand organization, would you support or oppose that particular party?**



Source: Survey by ABC News/*Washington Post*, October 27–30, 1995.

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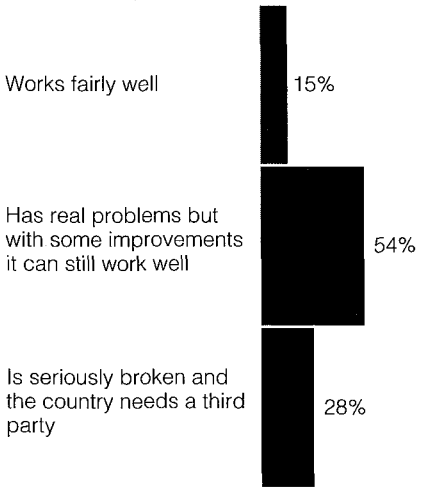
SECOND THOUGHTS ABOUT THIRD PARTIES

Roughly six in ten Americans tell pollsters they like the idea of a third party and over a third are calling themselves independents. Still, a majority believe that the two-party system can be made to work well. Six in ten believe a president who was not a Republican or Democrat would have serious problems with Congress, and the public is divided about whether electing an independent candidate would be a good way to change the way things are done in Congress or whether it would make the White House more isolated from Congress and the rest of government.

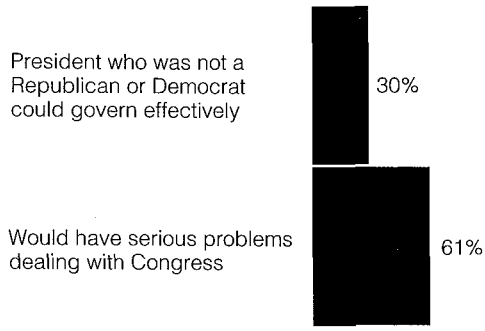
Question: **Which of the following statements is closer to your own view of the two-party system today, in terms of how well it defines issues and provides choices for voters?**

The two-party system



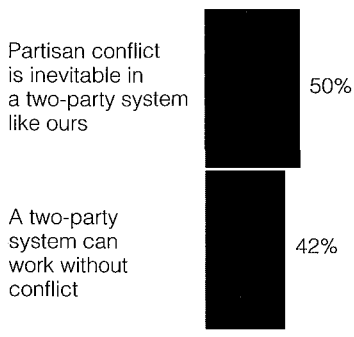
Source: Survey by NBC News/*Wall Street Journal*, September 16–19, 1995.

Question: **Do you think...?**



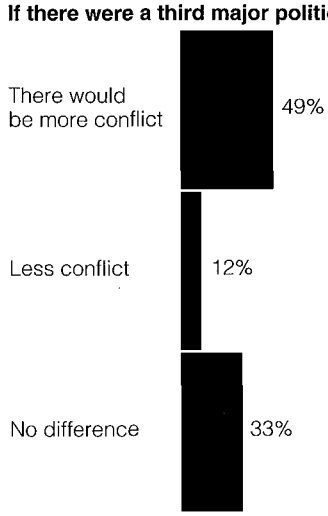
Note: Thirty-seven percent of independents thought an independent president could govern effectively; 55% said he would have serious problems with Congress.
Source: Survey by CBS News/*New York Times*, August 5–9, 1995.

Question: **Do you think that...?**



Question: **Do you think that...?**

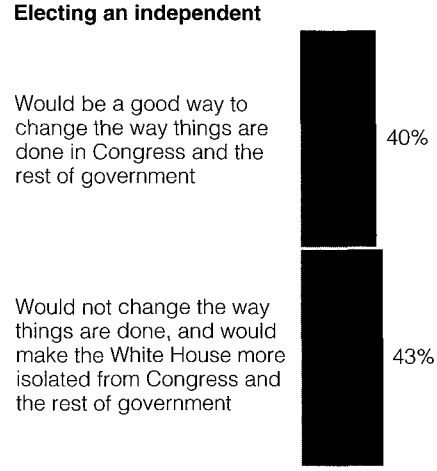
If there were a third major political party...



Source: Survey by CBS News/*New York Times*, August 5–9, 1995.

Question: **Which of the following two statements comes closer to your views about electing an independent candidate to serve as president...?**

Electing an independent



Source: Survey by Princeton Survey Research Associates for *Newsweek*, September 14–15, 1995.

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WHO SUPPORTS ROSS PEROT?

Three years ago, Ross Perot won a fifth of the presidential vote. While we do not know if the people who voted for him then still support him today, we do know that polls since that election have him drawing roughly the same percentage of the vote as he received in 1992. Below we look at those who voted for Perot in 1992, at his supporters during the 1994 elections, and at that those who have a favorable opinion of him now. The picture is consistent. Perot supporters are more male than female and more likely to be middle-aged than young or old. They are middle income and, not surprisingly, independent.

1992

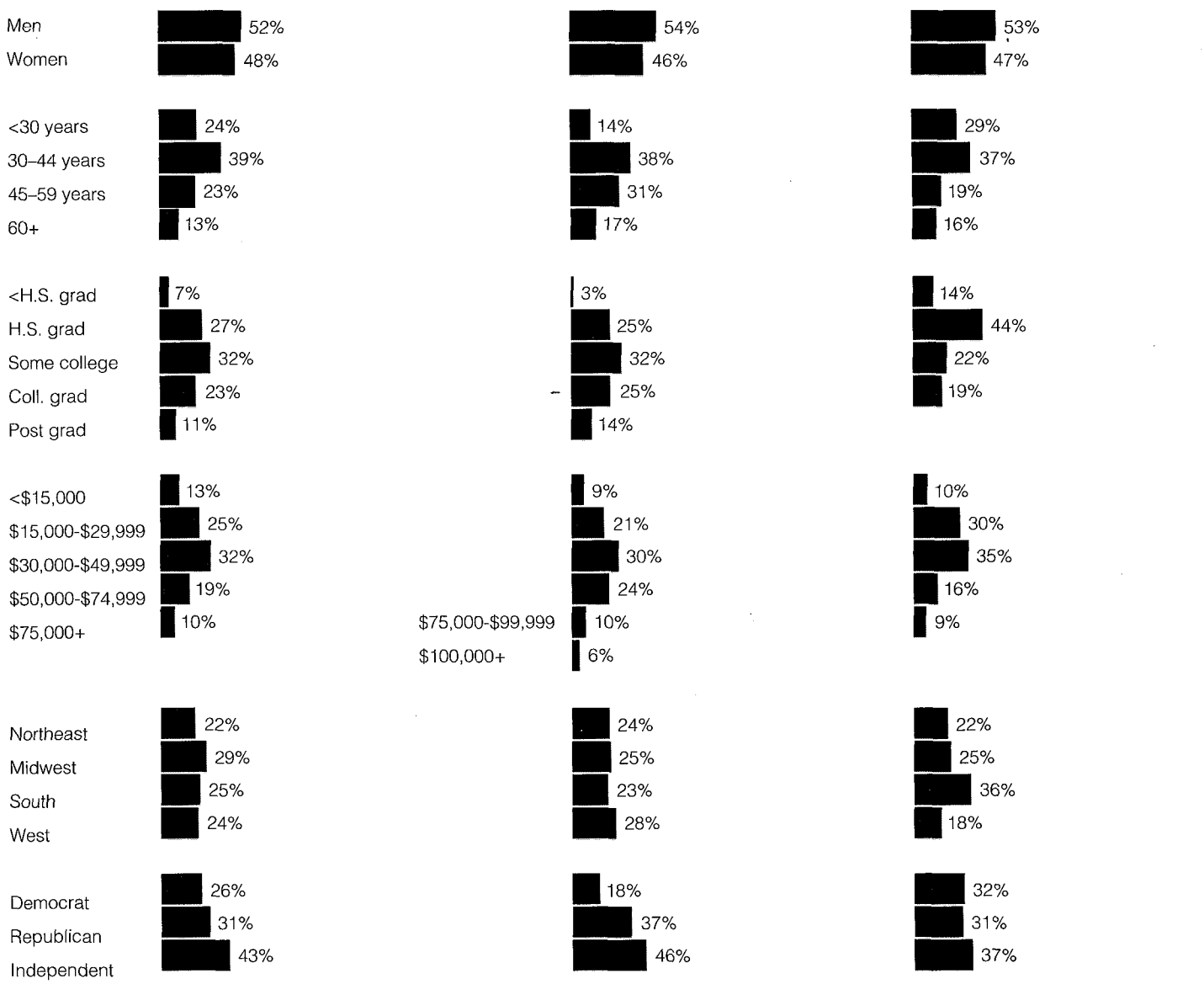
In 1992, 19% of those who voted cast their votes for Ross Perot. A profile of Perot's supporters appears below.

1994

In 1994, 14% of those who voted said they had cast their votes for Perot in the 1992 election. This group voted decisively Republican, 67 to 33 percent. A profile of 1994 Perot supporters appears below.

1995

In September 1995 Ross Perot announced that he would form a third party. Fifty-four percent in a Yankelovich poll said this would be good for the country, 31% bad. Sixty-six percent said that they would not like to see Perot run as his party's candidate for President. Below is a profile of those who had a favorable opinion of him in 1995.



Source: (Left and middle) Surveys by Voter News Service, November 3, 1992 and November 8, 1994, (right) by CBS/*New York Times*, March 12–14 and August 5–9 combined.

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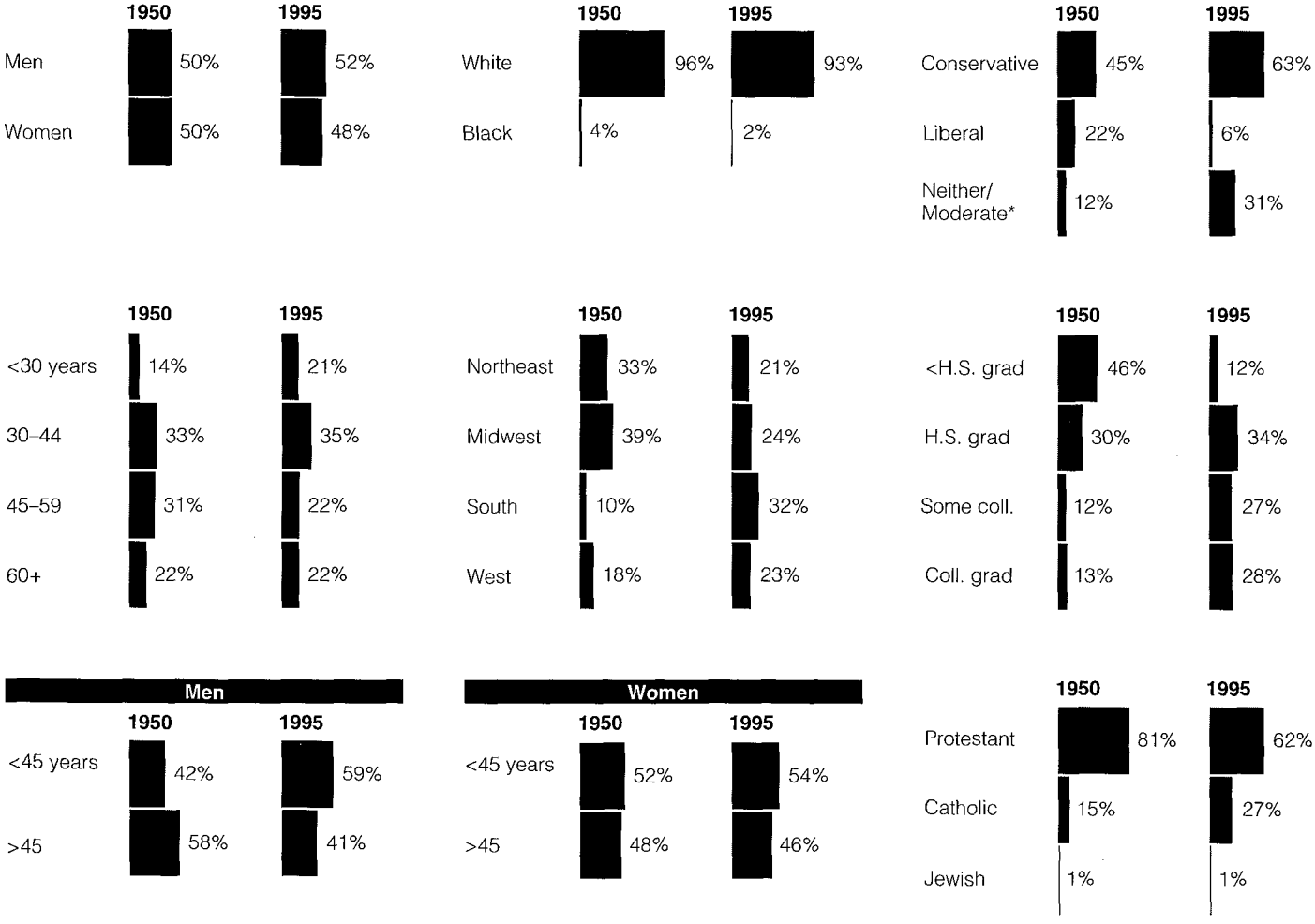
THE REPUBLICANS

In the next two pages we look at the composition of the Republican and Democratic parties in 1950 and in 1995. Republicans are younger today, especially male Republicans. Democrats have aged. The public as a whole is better educated, of course, but the data below show that educational attainment is higher among Republicans in both years. The Democrats have closed the education gap considerably, however. The table at the bottom of each page shows the percentage of people who identify with the Republican and Democratic party labels.

Profile of Republicans, 1950 and 1995



Percentage of the population identifying with the Republican label

			Men				Women				Religion		Region			
	Men	Women	<30 yrs.	30–44	45–59	60+	<30 yrs.	30–44	45–59	60+	Prot.	Cath.	NE	NW	South	West
1950	32%	32%	23%	29%	37%	41%	23%	30%	37%	41%	39%	20%	35%	37%	18%	32%
1995	33	28	34	34	33	32	26	31	27	28	32	29	27	30	32	34

Note: *In 1950, a "moderate" category was not offered by Gallup.
Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization, latest that of January–October, 1995.

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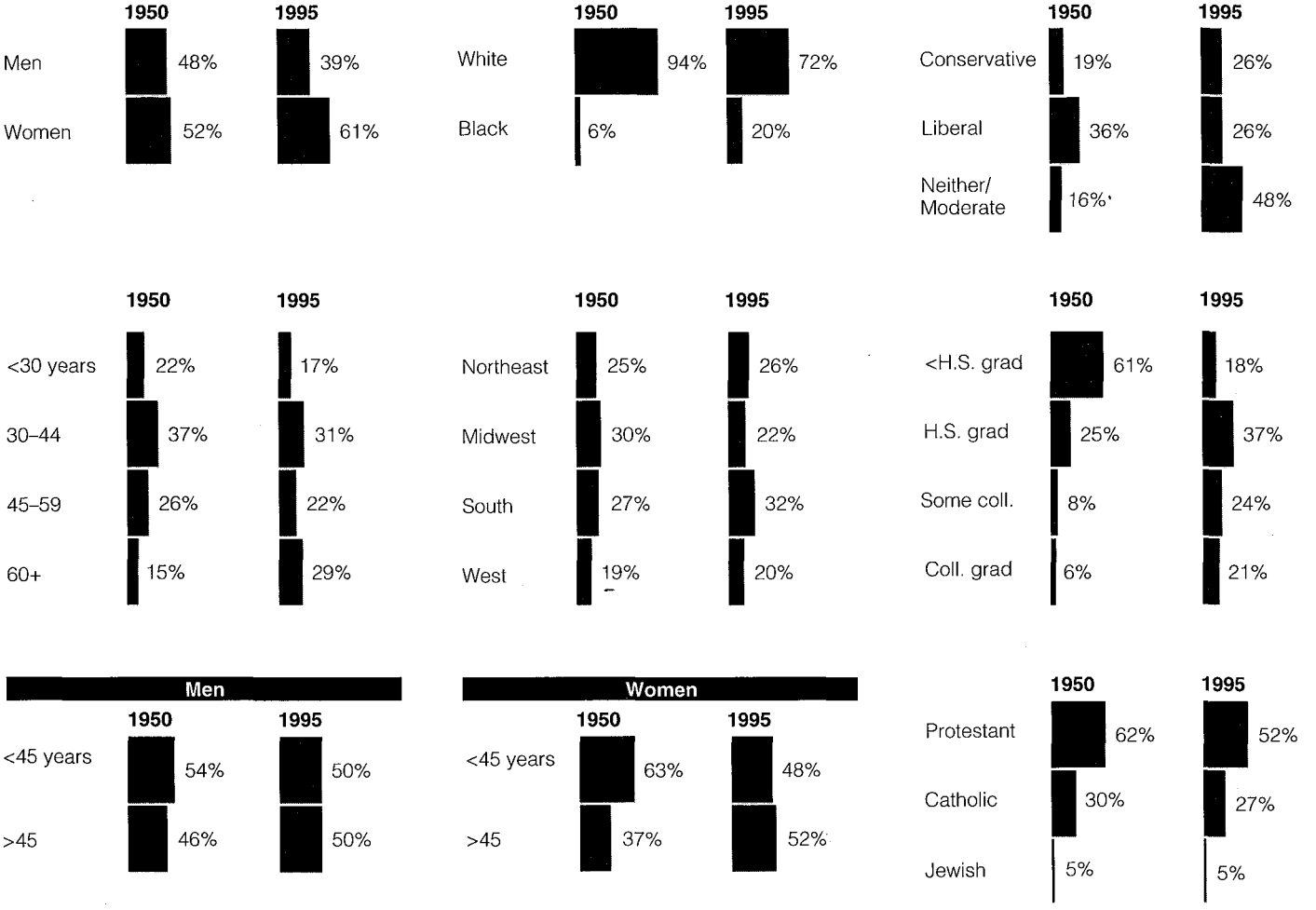
THE DEMOCRATS

Democrats are, not surprisingly, more liberal than Republicans. They are less likely to accept a religious label than they used to be. Democratic women are much older than in 1950. Catholics and Southerners are as likely to say they are Republicans as Democrats today, a significant shift from 1950. In 1950, blacks made up 6 percent of the Democratic base; in 1995 they make up 20 percent.

Profile of Democrats, 1950 and 1995



Percentage of the population identifying with the Democratic label

			Men				Women				Religion		Region			
	Men	Women	<30 yrs.	30–44	45–59	60+	<30 yrs.	30–44	45–59	60+	Prot.	Cath.	NE	NW	South	West
1950	44%	47%	48	45%	42%	40%	52%	49%	45%	42%	41%	55%	38%	40%	66%	46%
1995	25	36	20	23	26	32	30	33	36	44	27	30	33	28	32	29

Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization, latest that of January–October, 1995.

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the Mail

My compliments on your outstanding series of essays on conservative Christians (Nov./Dec.). I read with appreciation the account of Robert Fogel's address on religion and politics (TRANSCRIPT). His correlation of religious revivals with political changes was persuasive.

I would, however, suggest one correction. Fogel described me as "a prominent figure in the 'God is dead' movement." Actually, if I was in any way prominent in that short-lived movement, it was as one of its main critics. I actually debated William Hamilton and Tom Altizer on the subject on a couple of public occasions. The final chapter of my book *The Secular City* is a sustained criticism of the death of God movement. My central thesis, still held, is that God is present in the secular as well as in the religious realm.

Harvey Cox
Harvard Divinity School

As a producer of a magazine myself, I read with a double consciousness: as a civilian, so to speak, and as an editor. TAE is rewarding on both counts. It's a superbly edited magazine. I particularly enjoyed your issue on religious conservatives. By one of those happy conjunctions of the planets that delight magazine junkies, it appeared on newsstands cheek-by-jowl with *Mother Jones's* apocalyptic screed on the Religious Right.

John Wilson
Books & Culture

Congratulations on an excellent new issue. For all our bluster about "morality," conservatives often seem allergic to talking seriously about religion. I was pleased to see Gertrude Himmelfarb stating that there can be no moral revival without God. Then Mayer Schiller made the attendant point that it's completely ineffective to invoke God as a useful myth, as conservatives have a tendency to do. A knock-out blow.

David Klinghoffer
National Review

Your BIRD'S EYE piece on the impact of religion in politics was the best I've read on the subject, but there is one error in the article. It listed me as a "pro-choice" Republican, when in fact I'm an outspoken critic of our very liberal abortion laws. Other than that, the article was great.

Mike Huckabee
Lieutenant Governor of Arkansas

After reading "Who Are America's Religious Conservatives?" I remembered, as a child, finding a photo history of World War I in the family library. Puzzled by seeing many pictures of clergymen of various faiths exhorting the opposing armies to do battle in the name of the Lord, I concluded that God must have a macabre sense of humor to encourage such mass slaughter. Later, I deeply resented the fact that, as a Catholic, I had to participate in Protestant prayers and Bible readings at the beginning of each school day. After reading about the Founding Fathers, I became enraged when I discovered that Thomas Paine had been hounded to his death by the conservatives of his day for his religious beliefs. And now I find it incomprehensible that the people you support are trying to use the full powers of the state to impose their own beliefs on their secular brethen. Are there no more libertarians left at the American Enterprise Institute?

Christopher M. Burke
San Francisco

Why, after reading your 112-page effort, do I still distrust the motives of the so-called "Religious Right"? Historically, Christianity's worst moments have been when it was involved in politics, as the Thirty Years' War and the Spanish Inquisition demonstrate. Religion must be accepted voluntarily through the power of its message. To be persuasive, Christians should not only avoid forcing their issues by means of law; they should avoid even the appearance of coercion.

Kevin Twine
South Orange, New Jersey

Wow! Your Nov./Dec. issue was quite simply the best thing a "chattering classes" publication has done on the Religious Right. Just publishing Glenn Loury's piece is enough. Thank you for doing such a comprehensive, intellectually honest issue.

Mark Tapscott
The Heritage Foundation

I agree with Michael McConnell ("The Case for a Religious Liberty Amendment," Nov./Dec.). The Founders intended the First Amendment not to insulate society and the state from the influence of religion but, rather, to protect religion and religious freedom from the state. They understood that public morality is essential to a free, civilized society. Consequently, they wanted government to safeguard and promote religion and religious freedom.

Haven Bradford Gow
Eudora, Arkansas

One obvious response to Scott Walter's review of my book *Virtually Normal* (Nov./Dec.) is to sigh. He engages almost none of its arguments, and therefore is restricted to reasserting positions the book agrees with. I was told by many that debating conservatives was pointless, since they refused to listen. I am afraid those people were right.

The American Enterprise welcomes your comments. Send to "The Mail," The American Enterprise, 1150 17th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Or fax to (202) 862-7178. Or e-mail 75272,1226@compuserve.com. Please include your address and phone number. Published letters may be edited for length and clarity.

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Still, let me address the two points Walter makes. The first is that approving of homosexuality is equivalent to approving of polygamy, bestiality, and pedophilia. Homosexuality is, like heterosexuality, an emotional orientation of the deepest kind. It is not something one does; it is something one is. So moral homosexuals eschew polygamy, bestiality, pedophilia, and "self-centered desires" for the same reasons as moral heterosexuals: we don't want to unleash sexual wants, but to channel emotional needs into humane institutions, i.e. monogamous marriage. Walter's point would make sense if he argued that homosexuality is a disease, not an orientation. But he doesn't. Why? Could it be that his own church—and almost everyone's experience—teaches the opposite?

Secondly, to argue that reproduction is essential to the proper legal and moral recognition of relationships is to fly in the face of both religious and secular practice. Even the Catholic Church allows sterile people to marry, and the state never makes legal marriage contingent on having children. Does Walter believe that childless couples should be denied marriage? If not, why would he deny it to homosexuals?

The answer, of course, is that his prejudices have gotten the better of his reason. Conservatism is the poorer for it.

Andrew Sullivan
The New Republic

Scott Walter replies:
Sullivan reduces sexual morality to "emotional orientation[s] of the deepest kind." Yet a pedophile, for example, has a deep emotional orientation to sex with children. Since Sullivan has no principle for distinguishing between "orientations," he leaves us at the mercy of those who advocate the "rights" of pedophiles.

By contrast, the traditional argument made in my review does distinguish heterosexual monogamy in principle from all other "channeling of emotional needs" into sexual acts: in heterosexual monogamy a faithful man and wife aim at least potentially to bring forth life and to nurture it, not simply to pleasure themselves. This moral understanding also explains why civil and ecclesiastical authorities permit childless marriages: A couple's barrenness is presumed to result from an accidental defect—a husband's low sperm count, for example—that was not deliberately chosen and may well change without changing the essential nature of either the spouses or their potentially fruitful union. On the other hand, to deliberately choose a union that is intrinsically—not accidentally—opposed to marriage's natural production of children is something different in principle.

In short, marriage is for the natural union—body and soul—of man and wife, and reproductive organs are for reproduction. That is why, in the words of Sullivan's and my church, a homosexual orientation is an "objective disorder"—and also why "homosexual marriage" is a contradiction in terms.

Sullivan's quarrel is not with me but with nature, with the world as we find it.

"The Double-Edged Sword of Race-Pride" and "Alternative Afrocentrisms" in your Sept./Oct. issue demonstrated remarkable prescience in light of the O.J. Simpson verdict and the Million Man March. My personal enterprise has long been to acknowledge and celebrate the incredible wealth of talent and "excellence" among many black Americans. It was gratifying to read your articles profiling three "exemplars"—exactly the type of reporting most needed in our country.

Jessie Adams
Wilsonville, Oregon

As one who campaigns against race- and ethnic-based laws, I was drawn by the sections on work and Afrocentrism in the Sept./Oct. issue. But unlike Dinesh D'Souza ("Errors of Afrocentrism"), I would argue that Afrocentrists are not responsible for the problems confronting young blacks in America. As Charles Murray has argued, most of the present problems facing blacks can be traced back to the Constitution, when slavery was preserved. The white liberal policy and the prevailing wisdom of the old-line civil rights establishment have reinforced these problems by hindering people from taking responsibility for themselves. Why, for example, can't the liberal majority allow blacks to run their own schools rather than be forced to drink the "poison" in the American state education system?

Glory Osaji-Umeaku
The Abraham & Sarah Foundation

I was extremely impressed with Kenneth Lee's research on the political affiliation of faculties at Cornell and Stanford (SCAN: "Our Monotone Universities," Sept./Oct.). The data are quite clear that the faculty in these schools are overwhelmingly one-sided in their political affiliation. If all alumni had this information, schools would find it in their best interest to make a real effort to balance their faculty.

Judith King
via Compuserve

James Q. Wilson's remedy for substance abuse is random spot testing of parolees and probationers, with modest but increasingly severe sanctions if they fail the test ("Use Drug Tests To Reduce Demand For Narcotics," May/June). He is incorrect that such a program has never been tried in a "large jurisdiction for an extended period of time."

A sophisticated and aggressive drug-testing program containing the elements suggested by Wilson has been in place in the Central District of California for 20 years. Although the results have been mixed, the program attempts to give offenders the opportunity to end their substance abuse. It holds people accountable for their actions while simultaneously providing drug treatment. For the vast majority of offenders, incarceration is always an option if they fail to follow through on their agreement to enter and complete drug treatment.

Sam Torres
California State University, Long Beach

I am a postal clerk and a subscriber. I thoroughly enjoy TAE and congratulate the intelligent and interesting writers. I have been thoroughly entertained as well as educated.

Pat Colling
Clay, New York

CORRECTIONS: In the Nov./Dec. SIDELIGHTS we misidentified Nobel economist Paul Samuelson as Robert Samuelson. In Michael McConnell's article in the same issue, the estimate that religious speech has been curtailed in public settings in "thousands" of cases comes from sources other than the author. And in a sidebar entitled, "The Case for a Religious Liberty Amendment," the penultimate sentence of the *Rosenberger* item should read: "Gay rights, pro-choice, Marxist, and other controversial viewpoints were represented in university-funded student activities, yet publications addressing issues from a religious perspective were disallowed."

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